This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

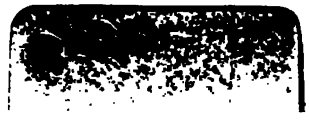
B 5523.20.5

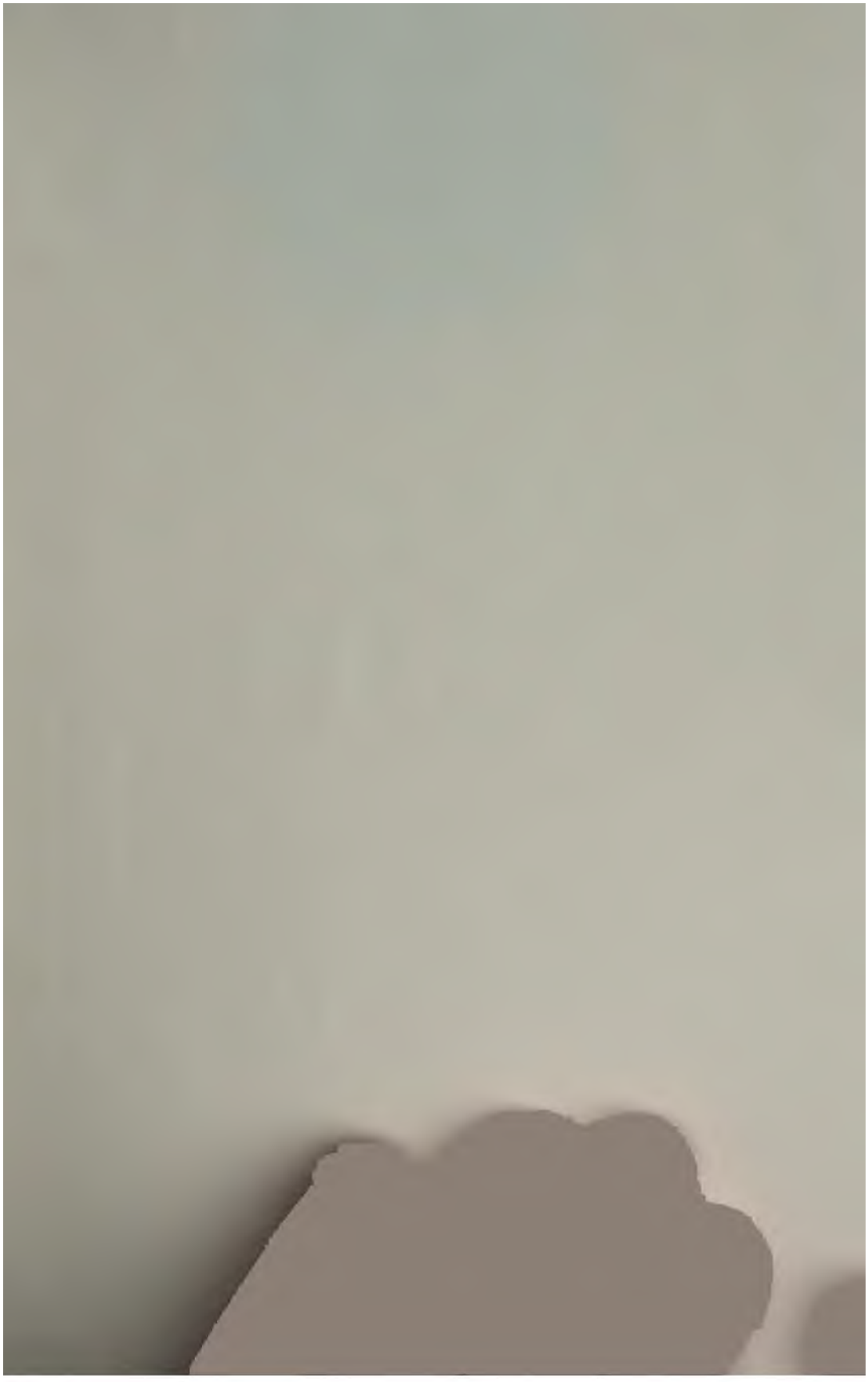
Harvard College Library

FROM THE

PRICE GREENLEAF FUND

Residuary legacy of $711,563 from E. Price Greenleaf,
of Boston, nearly one half of the income from
which is applied to the expenses of the
College Library.





WARWICK CASTLE

AND ITS EARLS

Frances Evelyn Warwick

WARWICK CASTLE

AND ITS EARLS

FROM SAXON TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

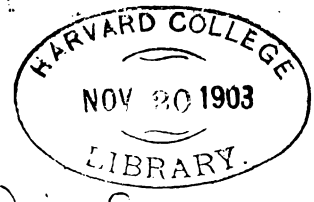
THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK

WITH TWO PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES
AND 172 ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. I.

LONDON
HUTCHINSON & CO. PATERNOSTER ROW
1903

Bn 5523.20.5
~~1047.33.3.5~~



Price Greening
Lincs.

Contents of Vol. I

BOOK I

THE SAXON AND NORMAN EARLS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

Early History of Warwick—Britons and Romans—John Rous, the Antiquary—Early Legends recorded in his Roll—The Truth that underlies them 1

CHAPTER II

Ethelfleda, Daughter of Alfred the Great—Her Life and Work—Her Castle at Warwick—Architectural Details—The Saxon Earls of Rous—Were they really Earls, or were they Shire-reeves? . . 10

CHAPTER III

Earl Rohand—His Daughter Phyllis—Her Love for Guy—The Legend of Guy's Adventures and of his Retirement to the Hermitage at Guy's Cliff—The Relics at Warwick Castle—Mr. Bloxam's Damaging Criticisms 17

CHAPTER IV

Other Saxon Earls — Reynbron — Wegeatus — Ufa — Wolgeatus—Wygotus—The Legend of Lady Godiva in Prose and Verse—Some very Good Reasons for not believing a Word of it 38

Contents of Vol. I

CHAPTER V

PAGE

Thurkill, the Traitor Earl—Why he was not at Hastings—How the Conqueror favoured him—How he changed his Name, and was the Ancestor of William Shakespeare 48

CHAPTER VI

The Rebuilding of the Castle by William the Conqueror—Architectural Particulars—Henry de Newburgh, the First Norman Earl—His Offices—His Benefactions to Religious Houses—His Services to Henry I.—His Death and Burial 52

CHAPTER VII

The House of Newburgh continued—Roger de Newburgh—William de Newburgh—Waleran de Newburgh—Henry de Newburgh—Thomas de Newburgh—Ela, Countess of Warwick—Her Second Husband—Her Benefaction to the University of Oxford 58

CHAPTER VIII

Margaret de Newburgh, Countess in her own Right—Her Two Husbands, John Marshall and John du Plessis—John Mauduit—The Last of the Norman Earls 67

BOOK II

THE HOUSE OF BEAUCHAMP

CHAPTER I

The House of Beauchamp—William de Beauchamp—His Wars in Wales—Guy de Beauchamp—His Enmity to Piers Gaveston—The Execution of Piers Gaveston on Blacklow Hill 75

CHAPTER II

PAGE

Thomas de Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick of Edward III.'s French Wars—His Exploits at Creçy, at Poictiers, and at Calais—His Death—His Arms and Crest—His Monument in St. Mary's Church, Warwick 88

CHAPTER III

Thomas de Beauchamp—His Hostility to Richard II.—His Arrest and Imprisonment—His Confession of Treachery—His Subsequent Repudiation of it—His Death—Richard de Beauchamp—His Feats of Chivalry—His Tailor's Bill 100

CHAPTER IV

Richard de Beauchamp in the French War—The Towns he took—His Advice to Poet Lydgate—Guardian of Henry VI.—The Ousting of the English from France—Richard de Beauchamp's Part in the Resistance—His Death in Normandy 117

BOOK III

THE HOUSE OF NEVILLE AND THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET

CHAPTER I

The House of Neville—Its Wealthy Marriages—Its Alliance with the House of Beauchamp—Richard Neville becomes Earl of Warwick—The Condition of England during his Minority—Jack Cade's Rebellion—The Rebellion of the Duke of York—The First Battle of St. Albans—The Redistribution of Offices—Warwick's Exploits as Captain of Calais and Captain to guard the Sea 139

CHAPTER II

Queen Margaret's Counter-revolution—The Rout of Ludford—Warwick at Calais—His Raid on Sandwich—The Battle of Northampton—The Battle of Wakefield—The Second Battle of St. Albans—The Battle of Towton—Flight of King Henry and Queen Margaret . 155

Contents of Vol. I

CHAPTER III

PAGE

Honours for the Earl of Warwick—His Subjugation of the Northern Lancastrian Fortresses—Coolness between King and King-maker—The Three Causes of Difference—The Indignation of Warwick and his Surly Message to the King 169

CHAPTER IV

The Vengeance of the King-maker—His Landing in Kent—His Compromise with Edward IV.—His Flight—His Accommodation with Queen Margaret—His Landing at Dartmouth—The Treachery of the Duke of Clarence—The Death of Warwick at the Battle of Barnet—An Estimate of his Character 179

CHAPTER V

The King-maker's Widow, his Daughters, and his Sons-in-law—Anne Neville's Petition to Parliament—The Sad End of the Duke of Clarence—The Still Sadder Fate of Edward, Earl of Warwick—The Fate of Edward's Sister Margaret in the Reign of Henry VIII. 190

CHAPTER VI

Architectural Particulars—The Norman Castle—Giffard's Siege—The Edwardian Castle, built by the Beauchamps—The General Principles of Edwardian Castles—The Warwick Gatehouse—Guy's Tower—Cæsar's Tower—The Prison—The Inscriptions—The Curtain Walls between the Towers—The River Gate . . . 203

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF DUDLEY

CHAPTER I

The Policy of Henry VII.—The Assistance given him by Edmund Dudley—The Pedigree of Edmund Dudley—His Descent from the House of Sutton—Dudley and Empson—Bacon's Scathing Account of their Proceedings—The Arrest of Dudley—His Conviction of High Treason—His Book in Favour of Absolute Monarchy—His Execution—An Estimate of his Character 219

Contents of Vol. I

CHAPTER II

PAGE

Edmund Dudley's Family—Andrew Dudley—John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland—The List of his Honours and Offices under Henry VIII. and under Edward VI.—His Military Achievements at Boulogne, at Pinkie, and at Dussindale—His Rivalry with Lord Protector Somerset—His Acquisition of Dudley Castle—John Knox's Candid Opinion of him . . . 234

CHAPTER III

John Dudley's Children—The Family Conspiracy in Favour of Lady Jane Dudley—The Death of King Edward and the Failure of the Plot—The Treatment of the Conspirators—"The Saying of John, Duke of Northumberlande, uppon the Scaffold"—His Character—His Son, John Dudley, who succeeded him, but died soon after his Release from the Tower 245

CHAPTER IV

Ambrose Dudley—His Imprisonment and Release—His Exploits at Saint Quentin and Exemption from the Act of Attainder—His Appointments—His Command against the French at Havre—His Appointment as Commissioner for the Trial of Mary Queen of Scots—Her Special Appeal to his Sense of Justice 257

CHAPTER V

The Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Warwick—Extracts from the Account of the Ceremonies in the Borough and the Festivities at the Castle given in "The Black Book of Warwick" 267

CHAPTER VI

Ambrose Dudley and Local Affairs—His Concern for Good Government—His Interference with Parliamentary and Municipal Elections—Other Events of his Later Years—The Amputation of his Leg—His Death—His Character 295

Contents of Vol. I

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester—The Reasons why he is Interesting—His Marriage with Amy Robsart—The Robsart Pedigree—The Story of Lady Amy's Death—The Suggestion that Dudley murdered her—A Review of the Evidence—The Grounds on which Dudley must be acquitted of the Crime 312

CHAPTER VIII

The Burial of Amy Dudley at Oxford—The Queen's Friendship for Robert Dudley—The Grant of Kenilworth Castle—The History of the Castle—Dudley's Restorations and Improvements—James I.'s Survey of Kenilworth 333

CHAPTER IX

The Kenilworth Festivities—Addresses in Prose and Verse—The Tumbler—The Morris Dance—The Mock Wedding—Tilting at the Quintain—The Masque that was suppressed, and the Probable Reason for its Suppression 342

CHAPTER X

Leicester's Marriage to Douglas, Lady Sheffield—Did he poison her?—Leicester in the Low Countries—His Failure as a General—His Relations with the Borough of Warwick—He Visits the Borough in State—His Benefactions—His Good Advice to Mr. Thomas Fisher—An Attempt to estimate his Character 354

CHAPTER XI

Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester—The Difficult Question of his Legitimacy—His Early Life—His Remarkable Adventures as a Navigator—His Marriage to the Daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh—His Elopement with Elizabeth Southwell 373

CHAPTER XII

Robert Dudley at Florence—His Various Achievements there—His Skill as an Engineer—As an Inventor—As a Ship-builder—His Remarkable Patent Medicine—His Book on Great Circle Sailing . . 389

Contents of Vol. I

CHAPTER XIII

PAGE

Dudley at Florence—His Attempts to restore Friendly Relations with the English Court—His Memorandum to Prince Henry on the Importance of Sea Power—His Advice to King James as to the Bridling of his Parliament and the Augmentation of his Revenue—Dudley's Endeavours to obtain the Restitution of his Property by a Threat of Reprisals on English Shipping 401

CHAPTER XIV

Duchess Dudley—Her Charitable Works—Her Daughters and their Husbands—Robert Dudley's Large Italian Family—The Proceedings of Carlo the Scapegrace—The Great Marriages of the Daughters—General Remarks about the House of Dudley and its Prominent Representatives 412

List of Illustrations in Vol. I

The pictures in this book not otherwise acknowledged are from photographs by Mr. L. C. Keighley Peach, Alderminster, Stratford-on-Avon.

PAGE

Warwick Castle in 1746 3
Cæsar's Tower, Warwick Castle 5
A Crusader's Helmet 7
Ethelfleda's Tower and Keep, in the Grounds of Warwick Castle . . 9
Cæsar's Tower, Warwick Castle 15
Guy of Warwick 19
A Crusader's Armour 25
Guy of Warwick, from a Basso Relievo formerly in Warwick Lane, London 29
Guy's Porridge-pot 33
Guy's Sword and Meat-fork 35
Lady Godiva 39
Battlement Steps, Warwick Castle 43
Thurkill, Earl of Warwick 49
An Arch of the Clock Tower, Warwick Castle 55
Roger de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick 59
The Seal of Thomas de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick 65
The Charter of Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, granting the Advowson of Compton Verney to St. Mary's, Warwick . . . 66
John du Plessis, Earl of Warwick 69
William de Mauduit, Earl of Warwick 71
Guy's Tower, Warwick Castle, from the Drive 73
A Deed confirming Compton Verney 74
The Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick. View from the South-east . . 77
The Breastplate of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick . . . 81
The Shield of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 83
The Entrance to Piers Gaveston's Dungeon, Warwick Castle . . . 85

List of Illustrations in Vol. I

PAGE

The Seal of Thomas de Beauchamp, 11th Earl of Warwick (1369-1401) 88
Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 89
A Piece of Edward the Black Prince's Armour 91
Edward, the Black Prince 93
Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his Countess. From their Tomb at Warwick 95
The Tomb of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the Choir of St. Mary's Church, Warwick 99
The Obverse of the Seal of the Famous Thomas de Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick 102
The Reverse of the Seal of the Famous Thomas de Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick 103
Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his Countess, the Lady Margaret 107
The Birth of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 109
The Baptism of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by the Archbishop of York, in the Presence of Richard II. 111
Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 113
Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 115
The Second Seal of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick . . 118
Richard de Beauchamp, K.G., Earl of Warwick, Regent of France, Governor of Normandy, and Captain of Calais 119
Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, crossing the Channel with his Lady and his Son 122
King Henry V. 125
The Death of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick . . . 127
The Interior of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick 129
The Effigy of Richard de Beauchamp 131
The Monument of Richard de Beauchamp in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick 133
The Tomb of Isabella, Second Wife of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 135
Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick 136
The Seal of Johanna de Beauchamp, Lady Bergevenny 137
King Henry VI. 138
Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker 141
The Servants' Hall, Warwick Castle 147
The Signature of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker . 151
An Effigy in Armour of the King-maker riding on an Armoured Steed . 153

List of Illustrations in Vol. I

PAGE

Margaret of Anjou, Queen-Consort of Henry VI., who commanded her Husband's Forces against the King-maker in many a Battle . . 157
Cæsar's Tower, Warwick Castle 163
Figure of the King-maker on the Tomb of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the Beauchamp Chapel 167
Warwick Castle in 1746 171
A Letter signed by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, asking the Dean of Warwick to obtain the Advowson of the Church, held by Master Arundel, for his Servant 178
King Edward IV., whom the King-maker first placed upon the Throne and then deposed 181
The King-maker's Mace 187
A Letter with the Autographs of Ralf, Lord Sudeley, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Richard, Earl of Salisbury, asking the Dean of Warwick to send the Register of Knights' Fees to London . 189
Anne Neville, Daughter of the King-maker and Queen-Consort of Richard III. 191
George, Duke of Clarence, Son-in-law of the King-maker by Marriage with his Elder Daughter, Isabel, and *jure uxoris* Earl of Warwick . 193
King Richard III., Son-in-law of the King-maker by Marriage with his Younger Daughter, Anne 197
The Gate Tower, Warwick Castle, 1823. From the Inner Court . . 205
Guy's Tower, Bridge, and Old Gateway, Warwick Castle . . . 211
Warwick Castle, 1746 221
The Main Gateway and Portcullis, Warwick Castle 225
The River Front, Warwick Castle 229
John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick . . 237
The Water-tower, Warwick Castle 241
The Lady Mary Dudley, afterwards the Wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and the Mother of Sir Philip Sidney 243
The Lady Jane Grey, who was wedded to Lord Guilford Dudley . . 247
An Inscription by John Dudley (Eldest Son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland), in the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London . 251
Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick 259
Mary Queen of Scots 261
The Gate-house, Warwick Castle 265
Queen Elizabeth 269
Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, the Third Wife of Ambrose Dudley 277

List of Illustrations in Vol. I

PAGE

Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge, in the Grounds of Warwick Castle . 285
Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick 297
The Chantry Chapel, adjoining the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick . . 301
The Tomb of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the Lady Chapel, Warwick 309
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 313
The Death of Amy Robsart 323
Kenilworth Castle 335
The Festivities at Kenilworth in Honour of Queen Elizabeth . . . 343
Queen Elizabeth's Saddle 348
Queen Elizabeth's Viol 353
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 355
The Leicester Hospital, Warwick 361
The Tomb of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick 369
Sir Robert Dudley, "The Noble Impe," son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the Lady Douglas Sheffield 375
The Armour of Sir Robert Dudley, "The Noble Impe" 379
The Interior of St. Mary's Church, Warwick 391
Henry, Prince of Wales 403
The Tomb of Sir Robert Dudley, "The Noble Impe," in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick 409
Interior of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick 419

Warwick Castle and its Earls

BOOK I

THE SAXON AND NORMAN EARLS

CHAPTER I

Early History of Warwick—Britons and Romans—John Rous, the Antiquary—Early Legends recorded in his Roll—The Truth that underlies them.

THE history of Warwick Castle is almost as old as the history of England itself. Earls of Warwick, belonging to each of the families that have successively held the title, have played their part in most of the dramas of English history. We meet them in our foreign wars: at Creçy, and Poictiers, and Agincourt, and in Queen Elizabeth's expedition to Havre. They have been even more conspicuous in our civil wars: the wars of Stephen and of Edward II., the wars of the Roses, the rising of Lady Jane Grey, and the war of the Parliament against Charles I. They have been the hosts of kings, and also their executioners. They have

dictated the policy of their country, and they have perished miserably on the scaffold. They have been generals in our armies and admirals in our navies; and they have distinguished themselves in other fields of fame. There was once an Earl of Warwick who was a pirate; there was once a pretender to the earldom who distinguished himself by inventing a valuable patent medicine. This history, therefore, will not lack variety.

Before touching upon the history of the Castle, I must say a word, by way of preface, about the early history of the town and county. It is neither a very long nor a very complicated history, though it is a little difficult to decide exactly where legend ends and history begins.

The "prehistoric" history need not detain us. According to Mr. Timms, the able historian of the county, "no remains are known, except, of course, in the case of early camps and *tumuli* and ancient roads which are within the limits of written history, but of which nothing or little is definitely known."

Presently, of course, the ancient Romans came and found the ancient Britons there. The town of Warwick is believed to have been the Roman Præsidium; but even this is not quite certain. There are, at any rate, very few traces of the Roman occupation, especially in the heart of the county. They had two roads there,—the Ryknield Street, which enters the county on the south of Bidford-on-Avon, and runs nearly due north through Birmingham; and Watling Street, which enters

From a painting by Canaletto in the Castle.

WARWICK CASTLE IN 1746.

Warwickshire near Rugby, and thence to Atherstone forms the county boundary. Probably the Romans were satisfied with these roads and the camps by the roadside, and left the Britons in comparative tranquillity in the forests.

In due course the Roman legions were withdrawn, and the Anglo-Saxon invaders arrived. Their policy, whenever and wherever they came, was not to subdue the Britons, but to exterminate them. No doubt they exterminated the Britons of Warwickshire like the rest, but we do not know the details. What we do know is that Warwickshire became a part of the Saxon kingdom of Mercia, and that there were Earls of Warwick. Authentic history—or perhaps it will be more correct to say comparatively authentic history—then begins.

Before proceeding with this authentic history, however, we must glance at the legendary history preserved in the writings of the famous Warwickshire worthy and antiquary, John Rous.

This John Rous (1411-1491) was a scholar of the University of Oxford, distinguished for his learning. He spent the greater part of his life as a chantry priest at Guy's Cliff, of which more presently. He erected a library over the south porch of St. Mary's Church, Warwick, and furnished it with books; and he also wrote many books of his own, of which the one that here concerns us bears the quaint title "This Rol[1]

[1] A modern edition of the Roll states that it was in 1636 in possession of Robert Arden, of Park Hall, Warwick, Esq., and was then transcribed

was laburd and finished by Master John Rows of Warrewyk." It is a magnificently illuminated MS., now in the library of the College of Arms, and is a history of the Earls of Warwick, introduced by a history of the town. The statements contained in it will be more intelligible to the general reader if I presume to modernise the spelling.

From a print published in 1814.

CÆSAR'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

According

by William Dugdale, Garter, which transcript now forms a part of a volume of his MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum (G2). Mr. Arden died unmarried, August 22nd, 1643 (in the flower of his youth, says Dugdale), and his estate passed among his sisters and coheirs; but it was not till the year 1786 that the Roll itself came into the library of the College of Arms.

to Rous, then, Warwick was founded by a certain King Guthelyne, "about the birth of King Alexander, the Greek conqueror," which would be 356 B.C., when it is possible, though it cannot be proved, that the Britons had some sort of settlement here. There is a picture in the Roll of King Guthelyne bearing a model of the town, with a bear sitting in the gateway. Other early worthies mentioned by the antiquary are :—

(1) King Gwidard, who "died about the same year that our Lord died."

(2) Saint Caradoc,[1] who restored the town because "he found it destroyed by the great wars that had been in the land," and "considering the good air and pleasant standing of it on a rock over a river between the woodland and the champagne made on it great building for him and his."

(3) King Constantine,[2] who reigned A.D. 433-443, built extensively, and was grandfather to King Arthur, "the mighty warrior."

(4) King Gwayr, cousin of King Arthur, who "on a time met with a giant that ran on him with a tree shred and the bark off." "He overcame the giant, and thereforward bore on his arms a ragged staff of

[1] I would take St. Caradoc as merely representing that the British people here, before the Romans interfered, were Christians.

[2] King Constantine may represent Roman influence. A Roman road is presumed, without any evidence, to have passed through the town, and remains have been found, though not sufficient to indicate any extensive settlement, which would be unnecessary with Chesterton, an undoubted camp, so near.

silver on a field of sable, and so his heirs continually after him.'

(5) Saint Dubricius,[1] Archbishop of Caerleon or Warwick. "His see pontifical was then at All Hallows Church in the Castle, and so it continued a college till after the Conquest threescore years." He afterwards fled to Wales to escape the Saxons, and became first Bishop of Llandaff.

(6) Arthgal or Arthal, a knight of King Arthur's Round Table, Earl of Warwick: "a lord of royal blood, and witty in all his deeds. . . . Of his name, that is to say Arthe or Narthe, is as much as to say in Welsh as a bear."

(7) Morwid, Earl of Warwick. In the section concerning him Rous speaks of "wells[2] that be half of the year, as from Christmas to Midsummer, salt, and the other half of the year they ran fresh, and there is but little water in them."

From the Armoury in Warwick Castle.
A CRUSADER'S HELMET.

[1] St. Dubricius represents merely the fact that the Saxon burh had a church within its enceinte; many of them had, as Castle Rising in Norfolk.

[2] The legend about the salt and fresh water curiously suggests a spa, and Leamington occurs to the mind at once

(8) Marthrud,[1] Earl of Warwick, "a noble knight, and many more Welsh earls there were, one of whom was marvellously buried in the bottom of Avon. . . . In his days the Britons were driven into Wales, and the land divided into many kingdoms, and the kingdoms parted into shires. . . . Then King Warremund[2] did change the name of this town, then a city named Caer-gwayr, and called it Warwyke, and inhabit it new with Saxons that now are called English people."

Such are the early legends embodied in the Rous Roll. The probable basis of fact underlying the fanciful stories has been indicated in the foot-notes. We gather from them that the town was thought to have been built in the fourth century B.C., and this is no doubt correct. An encampment about this date may yet be traced in the park, not far from the present castle, and hostile tribes long after occupied and fortified the ridges of the valley on either side of the Avon, as witness the long line of encampments at Loxley and the early mounds at Welcomb. The rest is partly deliberate invention and partly floating tradition, upon which no certain reliance can be placed. We will not, therefore, dwell further upon the stories, but will proceed to the period in which a portion at least of the history is better attested.

[1] The wars of Saxons with the Britons, or rather Roman-Britons, are suggested by the legendary Marthrud.

[2] Warremund is merely a name invented to account for a name, as Romulus to account for Rome; but it also points to the historic Saxon settlement.

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

ETHELFLEDA'S TOWER AND KEEP, IN THE GROUNDS OF WARWICK CASTLE.

CHAPTER II

Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great—Her Life and Work—Her Castle at Warwick—Architectural Details—The Saxon Earls of Rous—Were they really Earls, or were they Shire-reeves?

SOUND, authentic history, based upon credible contemporary documents, only begins for us at the time when Alfred the Great rolled back the tide of the Danish invasion. There is still a good deal of legend existing side by side with the history; but the two things can with some confidence be disentangled and kept separate.

One name shines prominently in this period—the name of Ethelfleda, eldest daughter of Alfred, sister of Edward the Elder, the millenary of whose coronation at Kingston-on-Thames was celebrated in 1901, and wife of Ethelred, Earl of Mercia. She was a great woman-warrior—the Boadicea of Saxon times. Asser's famous Chronicle is full of her exploits. She led her troops in person on the field of battle, liberated Mercia, built a chain of forts for its defence, marched as far west as Wales and as far north as York, and went on conquering and to conquer, until she died at Tamworth (A.D. 918) twelve days before midsummer, in the eighth year of her rule over Mercia; she was buried in the east porch of St. Peter's Church in Gloucester.

But our concern here is with the renown of Ethelfleda, not as a warrior, but as a builder. Never was there a greater builder than the Lady of the Mercians, as they called her. She "comes upon the scene," says Clark, in his "Mediæval Military Architecture," "as the greatest founder of fortresses in that century."[1] She either founded or fortified Chester, Scargate, Bridgnorth, Tamworth, Stafford, Eddisbury, Cherbury, Warbury, and Runcorn. Last, but not least, she threw up the Warwick mounds[2] in the year A.D. 914.

The Warwick Castle of Ethelfleda was a very different place from the Warwick Castle of to-day. It was a fort rather than a house in which it was possible to dwell. I will try to give some account of it; but not being myself a military expert

[1] "A.D. 912. Æthelred and Æthelflæda came to Scaergate on the eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and built the fort there and that of Bridgenorth.—A.D. 913. Æthelflæda gathered her Mercians and went to Tamworth early in summer and built the fortress there, and the same year before Lammas that of Stafford.—A.D. 914. She built the fortress of Æadesbyrig, and afterwards in the same year late in harvest that of Warwick. —A.D. 915. After midwinter she built the fortress at Weard-byrig, and before midwinter that at Rumcoft.—A.D. 916. She sent her forces into Wales, and stormed Brece-nan Mere, took the king's wife and thirty-four prisoners.—A.D. 917. She stormed and took Derby, but at a loss of four thanes.—A.D. 918. The fortress of Leicester surrendered peacefully to her, and York made a covenant with her, and her army was augmented."—"A.-S. Chron.," pp. 58, 59.

[2] Of these works of Ethelfleda are to be seen the great circular Bush at the western end of the enceinte, with traces of an outer fosse and vallum beyond it, and a good deal of the oval line of earthen ramparts which ran in a curve from the north-east of the mound to the river, and originally doubtless followed the precipitous bank of the latter till it rejoined the mound. The Cotton MS. gives date of foundation of Warwick as 951.

or an intimate student of the subject of fortifications, I must do so by quoting, with grateful acknowledgments, from Clark's work, already referred to, on "Mediæval Military Architecture." His general description of the fortifications of Saxon times will be found applicable to the particular case of the fortifications at Warwick.

"These works," says Clark, "thrown up in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, are seldom if ever rectangular, nor are they governed to any extent by the character of the ground. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope from twelve to even fifty or sixty feet in height. This 'mound,' 'motte,' or 'burh,' the *mota* of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch."

"Connected," he continues, "with the mound is usually a base court or enclosure, sometimes circular, more commonly oval or horseshoe-shaped, but if of the age of the mound always more or less rounded. This enclosure had also its bank and ditch on its outward faces, its rear resting on the ditch of the mound, and the area was often further strengthened by a bank along the crest of the scarp of the ditch. There are no traces of this ditch at Warwick."

As to the material used to strengthen the earthworks, Clark says:—

"Upon a *burh*, or upon an artificial earthwork of any height, masonry of any kind was obviously out of the question. Timber, and timber alone, would

have been the proper material. Timber was always at hand, and it was a material of which, possibly from their early maritime habits, the English were very fond. Also the rapidity with which these burhs were constructed shows that timber must have been largely employed. They were thrown up, completed, attacked, burnt, and restored, all within a few months."

Finally, he constructs the following graphic picture of Warwick Castle, or any other castle, of the period :—

"In viewing one of these moated mounds, we have only to imagine a central timber house on the top of the mound, built of half-trunks of trees set upright between two waling pieces at the top and bottom, like the old church at Greensted, with a close paling around it along the edge of the table top, perhaps a second line at its base, and a third along the outer edge of the ditch, and others not so strong upon the edges of the outer courts, with bridges of planks across the ditches, and huts of 'wattle and dab' or of timber within the enclosures, and we shall have a very fair idea of a fortified dwelling of a thane or franklin in England, or of the corresponding classes in Normandy, from the eighth or ninth centuries down to the date of the Norman Conquest."

So much for Ethelfleda and the castle which she built. We will now leave the Lady of the Mercians and turn to other matters. The Saxon Earls of Warwick claim our attention. Rous, in that interesting

but untrustworthy Roll of his, gives a list of eight such earls. The names are :—

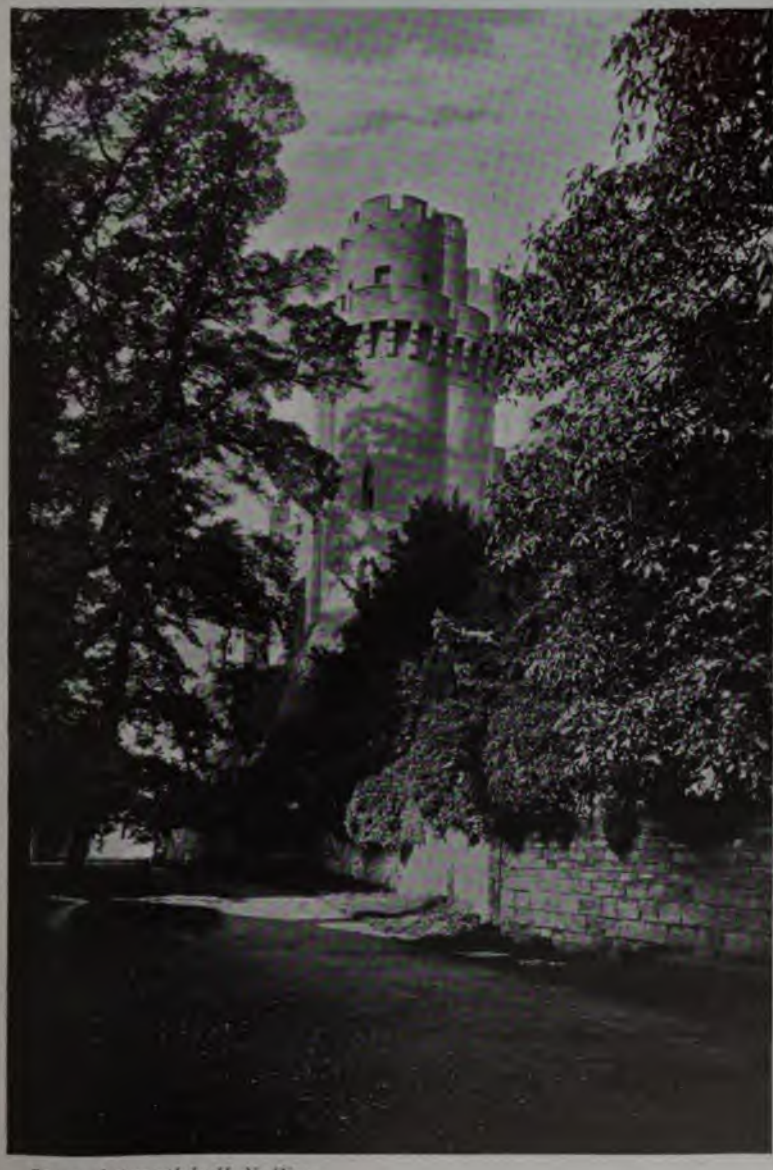
Rohand.	Ufa.
Guy.	Wolgeatus.
Rainbourn.	Wygodus.
Wegeatus.	Alwine.

Concerning these earls there are two questions to be faced. Were they real or only mythical personages? Assuming that they were—or that some of them were—real personages, are they properly spoken of as earls, a word of many meanings?

Rous' earls, if they existed at all, can hardly have failed to be earls in some sense or another. They must at least have been "men generally," and also, we may presume, "men of noble rank," and in all probability "warriors" as well.

There is also, however, a strict technical meaning of the title. Among a multitude of earls, *the* earl was the nobleman who, within the confines of any given county, was entitled to receive one-third of the proceeds of the administration of justice. As Professor Maitland puts it in his "Domesday Book and Beyond" :—

"In the county court, and in every hundred court that has not passed into private hands, the king is entitled to but two-thirds of the proceeds of justice, and the earl gets the other third, except perhaps in certain exceptional cases in which the king has the whole profit of some specially royal plea. The soke in the hundred courts belongs to the king and the earl.



From a photograph by H. N. King.

CÆSAR'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

And just as the king's rights as the lord of a hundredal court become bound up with, and are let to farm with, some royal manor, so the earl's third penny will be annexed to some comital manor."

In this sense Rous' earls most certainly were not the Earls of Warwick. The third penny of the county belonged at that time to the Earls of Mercia. They, therefore, were *de facto* Earls of Warwick, though without bearing any distinctive title to indicate the fact. Indeed the county as a separate Earldom did not exist. Rous' earls may have been—assuming again, for the sake of argument, that there ever were such persons—the shire-reeves or *vicecomites*. But the shrievalty, be it noted, is an office, and the sheriff, *quâ* sheriff, has neither land nor goods. He is, say Pollock and Maitland, "the governor of the shire, the captain of its forces, the president of its court, a distinctively royal officer, appointed by the king, dismissible at a moment's notice, strictly accountable to the Exchequer."

We will adopt this view, therefore, for want of a better one, of Rous' Saxon earls, leaving ourselves free to pass on to the legends which the diligent student of the period finds flourishing side by side with the established facts of history. And first we will deal with the famous legend of Guy of Warwick, of whom there are many reputed relics preserved, and shown to visitors, at the Castle.

CHAPTER III

Earl Rohand—His Daughter Phyllis—Her Love for Guy—The Legend of Guy's Adventures and of his Retirement to the Hermitage at Guy's Cliff—The Relics at Warwick Castle—Mr. Bloxam's Damaging Criticisms.

EARL ROHAND is merely mentioned by Rous as the first Earl after the direct rule of the kings. "When one king reigned over all," he says, "then Earls had profit of the lordships." His date, therefore, is that of the end of the Heptarchy. He appears only to be known as the father of his daughter Felice or Phyllis, who was, Rous says, "by true inheritance Countess of Warwick, and wife of the most victorious Knight, Sir Guy, to whom, in his wooing time, she made great strangeness, and caused him for her sake to put himself in many great distresses, dangers, and perils." The only relic of Phyllis at Warwick is the well called Phyllis' or Felyce's Well, and the curious iron slipper-stirrups named after her. The latter, however, are of far later date.

The love of Guy for Phyllis is the subject of our legend. There are several versions of it,[1] both in

[1] The oldest MS. is "Romanz de Gui de Warwyk," at Wolfenbüttel. An English version is quoted by Hampole in the "Mirror of Life" (*Speculum Vitæ*), *c.* 1350, and by Chaucer in the "Rime of Sir Topas," *c.* 1380. In its ballad form "A Pleasante Songe of the Valiante Actes of Guye of Warwicke," to the tune of "Was ever man so lost in love?" appeared in 1591-92.

The legend no doubt appeared as an early Saxon ballad altered to suit the times, so that the Saxon champion became a Norman knight. The French

English and French, and at least four distinct translations of the French MS. into English,[1] as well as various more popular renderings. For my own part, I prefer to follow the story as it is told in a chapbook of the eighteenth century, entitled "The History of the famous exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick."

Guy was the son of Earl Rohand's steward. His birth was heralded by remarkable portents, which were fully justified by the prowess of his earliest years :—

"His Mother dreamed soon after her Conception that Mars in a bloody Chariot drawn by fiery Dragons descended and told her the Child she bore in her Womb should come to be the honour and glory of this Nation, and a Terror to all Tyrants and Infidels, and his amazing acts should fill the World with Wonder, which fell out so, for no sooner was he Eight Years old, but he was delighted with all sorts of manly exercise, as running, wrestling, pitching the Bar, and

prose romance was turned into English, and at length took ballad form. Ellis declared, "It is certainly one of the most ancient and popular, and no less certainly one of the dullest and most tedious of our early romances."

The oldest preserved form is that of an Anglo-Norman romance (temp. thirteenth century), probably founded on the folk-songs of the people dressed by the romance writer in the fashion of his age. The Saxon is a Norman knight, sent to the Crusade, conducted from tournament to tournament throughout Europe. The monastic feeling is so strong that it may be the writer was a monk.

[1] (1) In short couplets: Auchinleck MS., ff. 108-146 (Abbotsford Club, 1840); Caius MS., 107; Sloane MS., 1044. (2) In twelve-line stanzas: Auchinleck MS. (3) In short couplets: Add. MS. 14408; Bodleian Douce Frag. 20; one leaf printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Printed version, "The Booke of the most victorious Prince Guy of Warwick," London, by William Copland, D.D. (4) In short couplets: Univ. Camb. MS., ff. 2-38; Caius MS., 107.

throwing ponderous weights, which he did to that Perfection that others more in age and stature could not come near him in, to the admiration of all that beheld him. In this manner he exercised himself

From the Rous Roll.

GUY OF WARWICK.

till the age of Sixteen, at which no man dare to encounter with him; when they did he always was victorious, which gained him much applause, and fame spoke loud of him."

Guy's exploits came to the ears of Earl Rohand, who invited him to a banquet. After the feast there were certain athletic competitions, in which Guy overthrew all comers. But his heart was not in the sports, for he had seen Phyllis and fallen in love with her, but being of lowlier station feared that he must love in vain. He withdrew, therefore, and thus soliloquised :—

"For me to attain this Perfection of Beauty is, I fear, altogether impossible, by reason of the great Distance of our Fortune. O ye powers, for what are these fair Beauties created, if not to be enjoyed? Or do you send down these bright Shapes from your Heavenly Abodes, only to be gazed at by Lovesick Man? I'll no longer torture myself thus between Hope and Despair, but will instantly go to her, and receive from her Fair Lips the sentence of my Life or Death."

Suiting the action to the word, he sought Phyllis out in an arbour, and thus pleaded his suit :—

"Most divine Creature, Fairest of your Sex, I have brought a Heart all over love to offer a Sacrifice to your dear Eyes. Pardon the Boldness of my rash Presumption that I should soar so high, to court that Bliss a King might be proud to possess. But Love, dear Lady, has such boundless Power, that I'm compelled with Humbleness to let you know I cannot live unless you give me life, by granting me the Blessing of your Love."

But Phyllis was not to be won so easily. "No, noble Guy," she said, "though I esteem your valour,

yet I cannot stoop to anything so much below myself." And she left him, and he "with many bitter sighs lamented his misfortune in his Courtship, and said, 'O ye mighty Deity of Love, I implore your Divine help. Wound her Heart as you have done mine, and make her have Compassion on a Suffering Lover.'"

Venus heard the prayer addressed to her, and Phyllis dreamt of Guy that night. Cupid appeared to her in her vision, and recited the following verses :—

Fair Phillis, see Renownèd Guy here stands,
And I am come (by Venus' strict commands)
To tell you that for you he is designed,
Who will the Glory be of all Mankind.

Princes shall court his favour, and his Arms
His Country shall protect from threatening Harms.
Tyrants he will subdue, and all his Foes
Shall dread his Name that dare him to oppose.

Victory crowns his Arms, while his Delight
The Wrongèd and Oppressèd is to right :
His Conquering Arms through all the World shall raise
Him Monuments of everlasting praise.

Despise him not, he's worthy of thy Love ;
Then turn thy Frowns to Smiles and kinder prove ;
Or, by my Powerful Art, this Dart I send
Shall quickly make your stubborn Heart to bend.

The vision changed the heart of Phyllis. When Guy next threw himself at her feet, her reception of him was more encouraging :—

"'Most noble Youth, you ask me what is not in my Power to grant ; the World would blame me for

my rashness if I should consent to love my Father's Steward's Son without the consent of my Father, to whose disposal I wholly resign myself. Therefore despair not, if you can do anything to meet his Good-will.' 'I doubt not, dear lady,' replied he, 'of that. I will go abroad, and Purchase Fame by the Power of my Arms, and at my Return lay all the Trophies of my Victories at your Feet.' 'Go then, most noble Guy, you have my Love; may Victories and Success attend upon your Arms where'er you go, while I will remain in a Virgin State, wishing your happy Return, loaded with that fame as may make my Father think you worthy of me, and I proud of such a Lover.' 'Bright Star, by whose influences I am wholly guided, if glorious Feats of Arms and Fame in Fields of Battle gained will please my Love, I'll wade through Seas of Blood and defie the greatest of dangers. My Love, farewell, I must repair to Arms.'"

Our chapbook next relates Guy's dashing exploits. He first went to Normandy, where he found an opportunity of acting as the champion of beauty in distress. There was a fair lady, condemned to be burnt alive, on a false charge of perjury, unless she could find some champion to engage in ordeal of battle on her behalf. Guy arrived at the very nick of time, and entered the lists to engage one of her accusers. We read that, "the Trumpet sounding, they furiously met each other, and Guy couching the Spear against his Breast it ran quite through, so that he fell dead from his horse. The Accusers, seeing the Fate

of their Fellow, stood not to engage single, but all at once clapping Spurs to their Horses, rid hastily up to Guy, who being ready received one upon the Point of his Spear, and unhors'd him as he had done the first; then pulling out his Sword he laid on upon the other Two, cutting and mangling them desperately, and in a little time brought one of them down dead by his Fellows; the other falling upon his Knees, begg'd his Life, and confessed the innocence of the Lady and the falseness of his accusation, which caused all the beholders to set up a great shout, and applauded the action of the Most Noble and Valiant Stranger that had thus delivered the Lady, whom Guy unbound and returned to her Friends,"

From Normandy Guy took ship and sailed to "the confines of Germany," where he happened to arrive just in time for a tournament, of which the prize was to be the hand of Blanche, the Emperor's daughter. He entered for the prize, and won it, nearly killing several of his rivals, but did not take it, explaining his delicate position to the Emperor, who, "much admiring his virtue as well as his valour, dismissed him after many favours bestowed upon him." Then :—

"Attended by the chief Nobility to the Sea-side, he embarked for England, where in a little time he arrived, while Phyllis, whom Fame had loudly informed of his glorious actions abroad, hearing of his safe arrival, waited with joy to receive him. Now Guy, coming to Warwick Castle, found a most kind

welcome by Phillis, and Earl Rohand, who, with tears of joy, embraced him in his arms."

This seems the natural happy ending of the story; but it, nevertheless, rambles on. Guy, it appears, after "passing some time in the enjoyment of fair Phyllis' company," conceived a desire for fresh adventures, and "prepared (since his country afforded no occasion for his valour) to go to Foreign Parts." Here follows the episode of the Dun Cow of Dunsmore Heath, which I quote from my chapbook at length. It says:—

"The vessel he was in for his intended Voyage being driven back by Contrary Winds, and lying in harbour, he heard a Report about the Country of a Monstrous Cow, which terrified the neighbouring Places, destroying the Cattle, and hurting and killing many that went about to destroy her; she was beyond the ordinary size of other Cattle, six yards in length, and four high, with large sharp Horns and fiery Eyes, of a Dun Colour; her place of abode was on a Heath near Warwick, now called Dunsmore Heath, which derived its name from this Monstrous Cow. The King hearing of the dreadful havock this Beast made, offered Knighthood to any that should overcome this Dun Cow. Guy, who was by all thought to be far beyond Sea, privately arming himself with a Strong Battle Axe, and his Bow and Quiver, made his way towards the Place where this Monster was, and approaching near the Den, he beheld upon the Heath the sad Objects of Desolation, the Carcasses of Men

and Beasts she had destroyed. Guy, no whit daunted at that, pursued on his way, till such time she espied Guy, staring with her dreadful Eyes upon him, and roaring most hideously; he bent his bow of steel and let fly an arrow, which rebounded from her hide as if it had been shot against a Brazen Wall; she enraged, ran as swift as the wind at Him, who seeing his arrows of no effect, had prepared himself with his Battle Axe to receive her, which he did with such a blow upon her head as made her recoil, but she recovering, more enraged at such a Treatment, ran full tilt with her Sharp Horns at Guy's Breast, which only dented his Armor and made him stagger; laying on many forceable blows at last he luckily hit her under the Ear, which was the only Place that was penetrable,

A CRUSADER'S ARMOUR.
In the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

where making a deep wound, the Blood gushed out amain, and he following his Blows in the same Place, made so many gashes that with loud roaring she fell down, and weltering in a stream of blood, died. Guy having done this work, soon made it known to the Country People, who to be satisfied of their being freed from this Monster, flocked to the place where they beheld the monstrous Carcass lie. The King hearing of it, sent for Guy, and with a great deal of Joy welcomed him and conferred upon him the honour of Knighthood, and caused one of the Cow's Ribs to be hung up in Warwick Castle as a lasting Monument of his Fame."

The dun cow duly disposed of, Guy put to sea again "with three other knights who had vowed to bear him company in his adventures." When they reached Germany, an ambush was laid for them by sixteen soldiers in the pay of Otto, Duke of Tuscany, one of the unsuccessful competitors at the tournament. Guy acquitted himself with his usual intrepidity :—

"'Courage, my Friends,' said Guy, 'these Villains' Lives shall pay the reward of their Treachery.' Then they drawing their swords, laid manfully about them, while Guy still encountering where he found most to do, had dispatch'd Ten of them, and looking about to rescue his friends, he found the Rogues had killed two of them, and only Sir Harauld left alive, much wounded, which Guy enraged at, like Lightning flew at the other Six, and soon made their mangled

bodies lifeless Trunks, as he had done the other Ten. Guy, much troubled for the loss of his Friends, ordered a Hermit thereby to bury them, and to take care of his wounded Friend, Sir Harauld, while he pursued his intended Course."

The next feat was the relief of the city of Byzantium, which was then being besieged by the Turks. Guy, by some means or other, had become the commander of an army of two thousand men. He slew the Sultan with his own hand, and left twenty thousand Saracen soldiers dead upon the field of carnage. Then he set out to return to England, and had another truly remarkable adventure by the way. He landed at some place for water, and rode up into the woods to look for venison, and there saw the strange spectacle of "a fiery Dragon and a fierce Lyon fighting together." Observe what followed:—

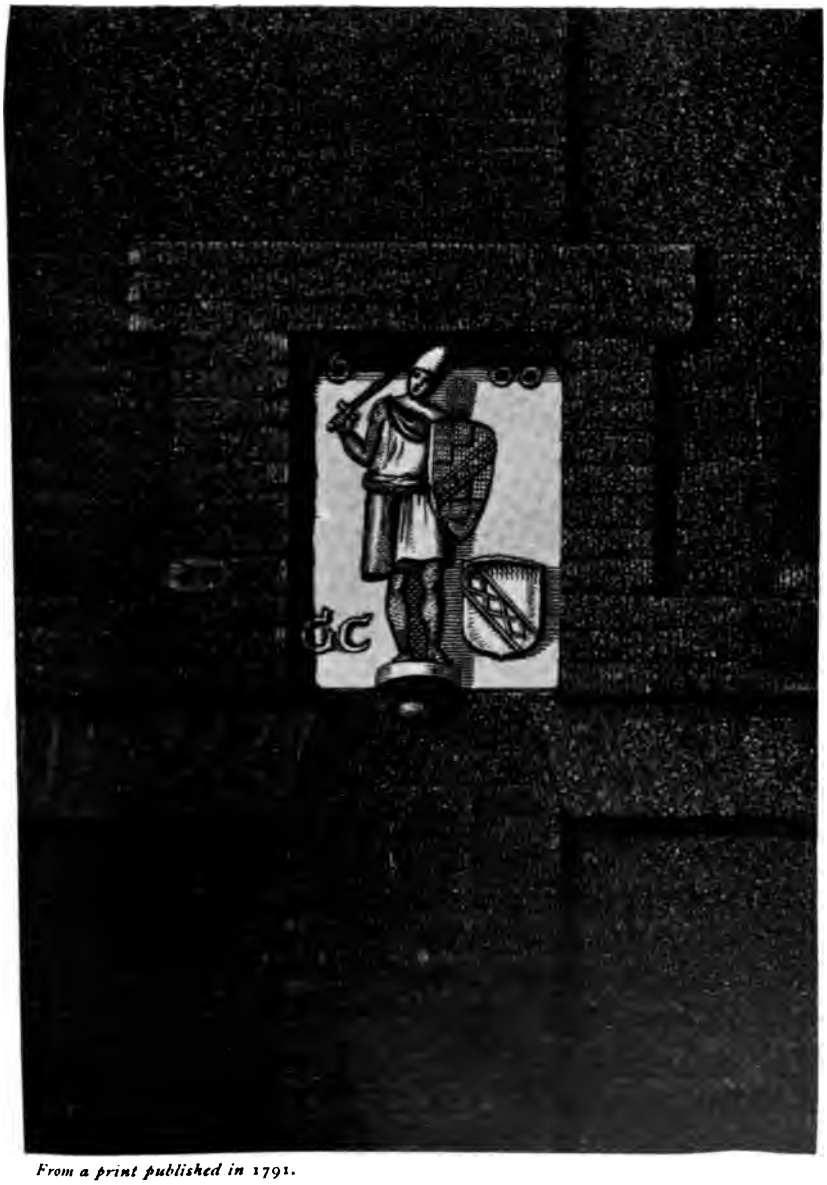
"Guy pleased at the Sport, sat himself down to see which would have the Better on it, resolving to help the Weakest; the Encounter was very fierce and terrible, till at last the Dragon, with her invenomed Teeth and knotted Tail, had so foiled the princely Lyon, that he began to look how he might fly from him; which Guy seeing, said, 'Dragon, have at your Hide,' and so laying on with mighty Blows on her rough scaly Back, which made no Impression, he found that would not do his Business, but observing a Place under the Wing, more easie to be entered, with a strong Thrust pierced his Heart: The Lyon, seeing his Enemy slain, with show of Reverence, came and

licked Guy's Feet, and fawned upon him, and followed him by his Horse's side like a dog, all the time of his stay in the Place."

The next feat was the slaughter of a boar, whose head weighed "almost an hundredweight." The foreigners were so impressed by these performances that they withheld Guy's "licences to depart," desiring to keep him among them, performing noble exercises. He told them of his love, however, and then they let him go, with compliments. A five days' voyage brought him to England, but not yet to Warwick. Before he could get there the King summoned him to York, and covered him with flattery.

"'If there be anything,' replied Guy, 'that could imploy my Arms in any hazardous Enterprise, to make me worthy of your Favour, I should be happy.' 'Alas!' says the King, 'there is at this time a dreadful Dragon inhabiting the Rocks in Northumberland, who for some time has devoured Men and Beasts, so that the Country round about her Cave for many Miles is become desolate.' Guy not at all daunted at the Relation, desired leave of the King to encounter the Dragon, which he granted him, with many wishes of Success, and ordered twelve Knights to Conduct him on his Way to the Cave."

The dragon was dealt with no less successfully than the boar, and the King "bestowed many rich Presents on Guy, and ordered the just Proportion of the Dragon to be drawn, which proved to be Thirty Foot in length, and proportionable alike, and hung up



From a print published in 1791.

GUY OF WARWICK, FROM A BASSO RELIEVO FORMERLY IN WARWICK LANE, LONDON.

in Warwick-Castle, as a Monument, of lasting Fame of the Noble Heroick Champion, Sir Guy."

And so home at last to Warwick, where Earl Rohand received the hero cordially, and gave him the hand of Phyllis, and made such a feast for the wedding as "gave a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction on all sides." He died soon afterwards, making Guy his heir, "which was further confirmed upon him by the King in the Title of Earl of Warwick, by which Title he was ranked with other Lords and Peers and in Favour with all Men."

Here once again we seem to have reached the proper and natural end of the story, but once more we find that it has a sequel. The sequel, indeed, is the part of the story that has become most famous. Guy was destined to roam abroad once more, but this time with a very different object.

"Ruminating upon past Actions of his Life, and the Showers of Blood he had spilt in seeking after Honour, it made him extream pensive, insomuch that Phyllis taking notice of it, enquired into the Cause, to whom he said: 'For thy sake, dear Lady, have I wandred through Seas of Blood, and with this Hand laid many Thousands sleeping in their silent Graves, and spent all the Days of my blooming Youth in seeking that empty Title called Honour, therefore 'tis now my Resolution, to take a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to visit the Sepulchre of our blessed Saviour, who freely parted with his Life for sinful Man's Redemption. I will lay by my rich Armour, and cloath myself in a

Pilgrim's Weed. Come, my dear and gentle Phyllis, give me thy Ring, and take thou mine, which shall be a sure Pledge of our lasting Love, and a certain Token of my Return when I send it thee again.' He had no sooner ended his Discourse, but she burst out in Tears so soon to be separated from her Lord, begging his stay, which he refusing, with many tender expressions of Love to each other, he departed on his Pilgrimage."

Of course it was not a pilgrimage without adventure. In the course of it Guy fought with one Amarant, a cruel giant, and killed him, releasing a great many prisoners that were kept by him. Then after "a great deal of Hardship and Danger, he trod back those many weary Steps he had gone before, and returned to England, to spend the remainder of his Days, and lay his aged Bones in their own native Soil."

Even so, however, there was another giant to be encountered before he could return to Warwick—Colbrand, the champion of the Danes, who were besieging Winchester, where, as at Warwick, Guy is still honoured as the type of a Christian hero. At first the Dane despised the aged pilgrim. Then, finding the pilgrim more vigorous than he expected, he "offered Guy, if he would submit, to promote him in the Danish camp." Guy rejected the proposal with indignation, and smote the giant on the head "till he fell to the ground breathless, while they on the wall set up such a shout as echo'd to the Clouds." A sally followed, and the siege of Winchester was raised.

But still Guy did not return to Phyllis. He was, now, altogether too holy a man for the enjoyment of connubial bliss ; and he repaired not to Warwick Castle, but to Guy's Cliff,[1] where he lived not as an earl, but as a hermit. Let our chapbook give the details :—

"Guy secretly departing from the City, went to a large Cave which was cut in the side of a Rock, and lived a solitary Life some Years, unknown to Phyllis, often going to Warwick Castle in his Pilgrim's Weeds to receive an Alms, which he did from his own dear Lady's Hands, who freely distributed her Charity, enquiring of all Pilgrims if they could give her any Intelligence of her Lord, whom she could hear nothing of, 'till such time as Guy finding a great decay in Nature, and that the Thread of his Life was almost spun, being not able to go out of his Cave, seeing a Traveller pass by, desired him to deliver the Countess of Warwick her own Ring, which was to be the Token of his Return, and said he should be rewarded for it by her, to whom he was to give Directions where to find the Cave. He going to Warwick, did accordingly deliver the Ring into her Hand, who was surprized with such excess of Joy, that she hardly knew what to say ; but giving him a good Reward, cryed, 'Where is my

[1] More presently about Guy's Cliff, the residence of Rous, and the site of so much legendary lore. It is situated about a mile and a quarter from the town of Warwick, and was described by Leland as being in his time "an abode of pleasure, a place meet for the Muses, with its natural cavities, its shady woods, its clear and crystal streams, its flowering meadows, and caves overgrown with moss, whilst a gentle river murmurs amongst the rocks, creating a solitude and quiet, most loved by the Muses."

Lord?' Then he directed her to the Cave, whither she soon went with her Attendance, to bring her Lord home: When she came to the Cave, she embraced his weak Body, and sent forth abundance of Tears, between Joy and Sorrow, while Guy thus expressed himself:

GUY'S PORRIDGE-POT.
Now in the Great Hall of Warwick Castle.

'My dear Lady, I am very well satisfy'd of your chast Life and pious Doings since my Departure; I have, since my Return, lived some time here, and have been myself Partaker of your Bounties.'

"'Ah! my Lord,' replyed she, 'how could you be

so unkind for to live so long by me, and not let me enjoy the Felicity of your Company? The want of which hath been the greatest Trouble I could have.

"'Heaven knows,' says Guy, 'I love no earthly thing like thyself, but the care of my immortal Soul made me despise all earthly Felicities, but willing to see thee once more before my Life was spent, I sent the Ring according to my Promise, that thou mightest come and close my dying Eyes.' So ending his Words, he laid his fainting head on Phyllis's trembling Breast, and dyed: When she saw his Exit, she tore her rich Attire, and her lovely Hair, and beat her fair Breasts like one distracted; and being conveyed home by her Servants, with the Body of her Lord, she refused any thing that might sustain Life, and soon after dyed. The Noise of Guy's Death spreading abroad, the King and Queen came to Warwick, to see them nobly Interred, much lamenting the Loss of so good a Subject, and his vertuous Lady: They caused the Castle to be hung in Mourning, and truly all England mourned for the Loss of their Champion; who, with his Lady, was Buried with all the Solemnity that could be performed on such an Occasion; and a famous Monument erected over them, by the most curious Artists and Workmen as could be found, and the Trophies of his Victories was ordered to be kept in Warwick Castle, where some Remains of them are to be seen to this Day."

Such is our legend, rambling and inchoate, ending in a pathos which the monkish middle ages would have

GUY'S SWORD AND MEAT-FORK.
Now in the Great Hall of Warwick Castle.

understood and felt, though it is thoroughly wrong-headed and ridiculous, according to our modern notions. It is quite impossible to accept it as a whole; but it is difficult to believe that it is purely fabrication, or that Guy of Warwick was entirely a mythical character. I should imagine that there was a real Guy, around whose name legends belonging to other heroes, and even to other countries, have clustered in the manner familiar to all diligent students of mythology. An effort has evidently been made to give a Saxon hero to certain Norman legends; and a comparison of the later with the earlier versions of the story makes it clear that some at least of the episodes are accretions.

The story of the Dun Cow is one case in point. This first appears in a printed version of the legend about 1680; and the earliest incidental reference to it is in Dr. Caius's "De rariorum animalium historiâ libellus," [1]

[1] Dr. Caius says: "I met with the head of a certain huge animal, of which the naked bone, with the bones supporting the horns, were of enormous weight, and as much as a man could well lift. The curvature of the bones of the horns is of such a

printed in London in 1570. It is also related in a play entitled "The Tragical History, Admirable Achievements, and various events of Guy, Earl of Warwick, a Tragedy acted very frequently with great applause, by his late Majesties servants. Written by B. J., London. Printed for Thomas Vere and William Gilbertson, without Newgate, 1661." The initials "B. J." may possibly be those of Ben Jonson, but this is doubtful. The allusion to the Cow, which is in the first Act, runs thus :—

> And now again
> he combats with that huge and monstrous beast,
> called the wild Cow of Dunsmore Heath. . . .
> And by thy hand the wild Cow slaughtered
> that kept such revels upon Dunsmore Heath. . . .

projection as to point not straight downwards, but obliquely forwards. . . . Of this kind I saw another head at Warwick, in the Castle, A.D. 1552, in the place where the arms of the great and strong Guy, formerly Earl of Warwick, are kept. There is also a vertebra of the neck of the same animal, of such great size that its circumference is not less than three Roman feet, seven inches and-a-half. I think also that *the blade bone*, which is to be seen hung up in chains from the north gate at Coventry, belongs to the same animal; it has, if I remember right, no portion of the back-bone attached to it, and it is three feet one inch and-a-half broad across the lowest part and four feet six inches in length. The circumference of the whole is not less than eleven feet four inches and-a-half. In the chapel of the great Guy, Earl of Warwick, which is situated not more than a mile from the town of Warwick (at Guy's Cliff), there is hung up a rib of the same animal, as I suppose, the girth of which, in the smallest part, is nine inches, the length six feet and-a-half. It is dry, and, on the outer surface, curious, but yet weighs nine pounds and-a-half. Some of the common people fancy it to be the rib of a wild boar killed by Sir Guy, some the rib of a cow, which haunted a ditch near Coventry, and injured many persons. The last opinion I judge to come nearer to the truth, since it may perhaps be the bone of Bonasus or Urus. It is probable that many animals of this kind formerly lived in our England, being of old an island full of woods and forests."—Bloxam's "Mediæval Legends of Warwickshire."

Athelstan. Rainborne 'tis true . . .
the shield-bone of the bore of Callidon
shall be hang'd up at Coventrie's great gate.
The rib of the Dun Cow of Dunsmore Heath
in Warwick Castle for a monument.
And on his Cave where he hath left his life,
a stately Hermitage I will erect
in honour of Sir Guy of Warwick's name.

With regard to the relics attributed to Guy and preserved at Warwick Castle, I fear these must, however reluctantly, be given up, at any rate, so far as the legendary Guy is concerned, though we will retain from sentimental motives his caldron or porridge pot, fork, and sword. Antiquarians have shown that most of the "Guy relics" belong to other periods, but, curiously enough, these eminent authorities overlook the fact that there have been more than one Guy of Warwick, and most of the armour so described belongs to Guy de Beauchamp, the famous Earl of Warwick who flourished in the reign of Edward III., and whose story will be related later.

We now pass on to our second legend, that of Lady Godiva of Coventry.

CHAPTER IV

Other Saxon Earls—Reynbron—Wegeatus—Ufa—Wolgeatus—Wygotus—The Legend of Lady Godiva in Prose and Verse—Some very Good Reasons for not believing a Word of it.

THE Legend of Lady Godiva belongs to a somewhat later date than that of Guy of Warwick. It has its place here because Lady Godiva's husband, Leofric, Earl of Chester and Coventry, was a brother-in-law of the man Rous calls Earl of Warwick. Before coming to it, we must trace the history, so far as we know it, of the intervening earls. And for that purpose, of course, we must go back to Rous.

First comes Reynbron, or Reinburn, son of Guy and Phyllis, who had a romantic history. He was "stolen from his master and guider, Sir Harold of Ardern, by mariners of Russia, and sold to a heathen king, whom Sir Harold sought wide in far lands, and after by fighting between Sir Reynbron and Sir Harold's son—as is plain in the Romance of the said Sir Reynbron's life—(*e.g.* the Auchinleck MS., edited by J. Zupitza, Early English Text Society)—the said Sir Harold came to knowledge of them both, and brought Sir Reynbron back to England, and was full cheerfully received of King Athelstan, and received his lands with the King's daughter to his wife."

From the picture by the Hon. John Collier, by permission of the artist. *Photo by F. W. Brookman.*

LADY GODIVA.

Rous believed, though he was not sure, that Reynbron died in the course of a journey to the Holy Land, and was buried on an island near Venice.

Next comes Wegeatus, or Wayth, who endowed the Abbey of Evesham "with 2 lordships and their purtenance in the County of Warwick." The lordships in question were those of Willysford and Little Grafton, "that belongs now to the Hospitallers of the Temple of Balsale." The next earl was Ufa, commonly called Huve the Humed, and also known as Wulfer, whose principal stronghold was at Bury Banks, near Stone. He was a special friend to the monks of Evesham, and in 974 gave them all Witlaxford (Wixford) and Little Grafton. He was buried in Evesham Abbey about the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor.[1] He was succeeded by his son Wolgeatus, or Wollet, who was also a benefactor to Evesham, since when the monks there were put out in St. Edward and King Ethelred's days, the gifts of his ancestor, Witlaxford and Grafton, came back to him for life, and "at his decease they were to receive them, with his stuf at that time found in them."

"In this Lord's days," says Rous, "the cruel Danes burned Warwick, and 2 Abbeys, one of monks that stood above Wodlow Hill, and another of black nuns that stood in the town at Saint Nicholas (1016 A.D.). . . . Afore that was Warwick a royal town, and never since it might recover the hurt that was then

[1] Register of Evesham Abbey, quoted by Dugdale, "War. Ant."

done." So many people were murdered in various parts of Warwickshire that there "are many murder stones congealed of sand, gravel, and men's blood. This bloodshed was between New Year's Day and the Twelth Day. King Ethelred, few years afore, by reason of his evil courses slew Wolgeat in England."

Earl Wolgeat's son, Earl Wygotus, is said to have married the sister of Leofric, Earl of Coventry, and husband of the Lady Godiva, to whose story we now come.

Every one knows the story, at least in outline. It has been told by poets and ballad-mongers, as well as by the writers of chapbooks, and the compilers of the local guidebooks. It has been dramatised for use in circuses. I shall take my version from an old account of the Origin of the Procession at Coventry Show Fair, which professes to be "copied from an ancient record." This brief tract runs as follows:—

"The wife of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, with her husband, founded a Monastery for an abbot and twenty-four Benedictine monks in Coventry in 1043, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Peter and St. Osburg. Leofric, and his Lady, who both died about the latter end of the reign of Edward the Confessor, were buried in the church of the Abbey they had founded. The former seems to have been the first lord of Coventry and the latter its greatest benefactress, as will appear from the following extraordinary, and indeed romantic tradition, which is not only firmly believed at Coventry, but is recorded by many

of our own historians:—The Earl had granted the convent and city many valuable priveleges [*sic*], but the inhabitants having offended him, he imposed on them very heavy taxes, for the great lords to whom the Towns belonged under the Anglo-Saxons had that privelege, which cannot be exercised at present by any but the House of Commons. The people complained grievously of the severity of the taxes, and applied to Godiva, the Earl's lady, a woman of great piety and virtue, to intercede in their favour. She willingly complied with their request, but the Earl remained inexorable; he told his lady, that were she to ride naked through the streets of the city, he would remit the tax—meaning that no persuasion whatever should prevail with him, and thinking to silence her by the strange proposal; but she, sensibly touched by the distress of the city, generously accepted the terms. She, therefore, sent notice to the Magistrates of the town, with the strictest orders that all doors and windows should be shut, and that no person should attempt to look out on pain of death. These precautions being taken, the lady rode through the city, covered only with her fine flowing locks.

"While riding in that manner through the streets, no one dared to look at her, except a poor taylor, who, as a punishment, it is said, for his violating the injunction of the noble lady which had been published with so pious and benevolent design, was struck blind. This taylor has been ever since remembered by the name of Peeping Tom, and in memory of the event

his figure is still kept up in a window near to the house from whence it is said he gratified his curiosity.

"The lady having thus discharged her engagements, the Earl performed his promise, and granted the city a charter, by which they were exempted from all taxes. As a proof of the truth of this circumstance, in a window of Trinity Church are the figures of the Earl and his Lady, and beneath the following inscription :—

BATTLEMENT STEPS, WARWICK CASTLE.

I, Leofric,[1] for the love of thee,
Do set Coventry toll free.

"To this day the love of Godiva is sometimes commemorated on Friday in Trinity week, when a valiant fair one rides (not literally like the good Countess) but in silk or fine linen, closely fitted to her limbs. The figure of Peeping Tom is also new dressed and painted annually on the occasion.

[1] Luriche, according to Dugdale ; but no trace of figures, or inscription, remains.

"Peeping Tom is a very ancient full-length oak statue in armour, with a helmet on his head and sandals on his feet; to favour the posture of his leaning out of a window, his arms have been cut off at the elbows. There is every reason to believe it was originally intended either for Mars, the fabulous God of War, or some warlike Chieftain. In the reign of Charles II. the Show at the Great Fair was instituted."

So far in sober prose. The tract then breaks exuberantly into verse:—

O'er Godiva's great actions Fame echoes the strain;
Long, sacred to Freedom, her name shall remain:
Her patriot zeal gained the glorious decree,
That bade Tyranny die and our City be free.
Then blame not the custom which bids us combine,
In Gratitude's offering at Virtue's fair shrine;
But freely contribute your voice to the cause,
Which gives Worth its just praise—to true Greatness applause.

The legend, indeed, has inspired more and better poetry than have most legends. Tennyson's idyll on the subject is too well known to be quoted here; but I am tempted to consign to the appendix an anonymous ballad on the subject, dating from 1780, and to embellish my text with some of the very witty stanzas written for the *Etonian* by Macaulay's contemporary and friend at Cambridge, the Rev. John Moultrie. They treat of the Peeping Tom incident:—

Godiva passed, but all had disappear'd,
Each in his dwelling's innermost recess:
One would have thought all mortal eyes had fear'd
To gaze upon her dazzling loveliness.

Sudden her palfrey stopp'd, and neigh'd and rear'd,
And prick'd his ears—as if he would express
That there was something wicked in the wind;
Godiva trembled and held fast behind.

And here I also must remark that this is
With ladies very frequently the case,
And beg to hint to all Equestrian Misses
That horses' backs are not their proper place:
A woman's forte is music—love—or kisses,
Not leaping gates, or galloping a race;
I used sometimes to ride with them of yore,
And always found them an infernal bore.

The steed grew quiet, and a piercing cry
Burst on Godiva's ears;—she started, and
Beheld a man, who, in a window high,
Shaded his dim eyes with his trembling hand:
He had been led by curiosity
To see her pass, and there had ta'en his stand,
And as he gazed ('tis thus the story's read)
His eyeballs sunk and shrivell'd in his head.

I know not, gentles, whether this be true;
If so, you'll own the punishment was just.
Poor wretch!—full dearly had he cause to rue
His prying temper, or unbridled lust.
No more could he his daily toil pursue—
He was a tinker—but his tools might rust,
He might dispose of all his stock of metal,
For ne'er thenceforward could he mend a kettle.

Alas, poor Peeping Tom! Godiva kept
And fed him.—Reader, now my tale is told;
I need not state how all the peasants wept,
And laughed, and bless'd their Countess,—young and old.
That night Godiva very soundly slept—
I grieve to add she caught a trifling cold;
Leofric's heart was so extremely full
He roasted for the populace a bull.

There stood an ancient cross at Coventry,
Pull'd down, of late, by order of the Mayor,
Because 'twas clear its downfall must be nigh,
And 'twould be too expensive to repair;
It bore two figures carved—and you might spy
Beneath them graved, in letters large and fair,
"Godiva, Leofric, for love of thee,
Doth make henceforth fair Coventry toll free."

The tale's believed by all the population,
And still a sham Godiva, every year,
Is carried by the Mayor and Corporation
In grand procession—and the mob get beer.
Gentles, I've spent my fit of inspiration,
Which, being over, I must leave you here;
And for Godiva—hope you'll decent think her,
Laugh at the husband, and forgive the tinker.

The story, like that of Guy, has encountered a good deal of sceptical criticism. Of the existence of Godiva, indeed, no doubt exists, since she appears (as Godeva) in Domesday Book as one of the great landowners in Warwickshire. But the legend itself does not rest upon good authority, since none of the chroniclers mention it before Roger de Wendover, who wrote in the reign of King John. William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester make no mention of it; but, on the contrary, praise Leofric in no measured terms.

"Earl Leofric," says the latter, writing in the early part of the twelfth century, "of blessed memory and worthy of all praise, died in a good old age, at his own vill of Bromley, on the 2nd of the Kalends of September (31st Aug.), and was buried with great

state at Coventry. Amongst his other good deeds in this life, he and his wife, the noble Countess Gogdiva (who was a devout worshipper of God, and one who loved the ever-virgin Saint Mary), entirely constructed, at their own cost, the monastery there, well endowed it with land, and enriched it with ornaments to such an extent that no monastery could be then found in England possessing so much of gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones."

As for the Peeping Tom story, that Mr. Bloxam has demonstrated to be very improbable, if not actually impossible. According to the Norman Survey, taken nearly thirty years after Earl Leofric's death, there were only sixty-nine houses in Coventry; and "if we take the Bayeux tapestry as our guide in delineating the habitations of the commonalty, we shall find them to be mere wooden hovels of a single story, with a door, *but no windows*."

If there were no windows, the windows clearly cannot have been shut, nor can any Tom have got into trouble by peeping out of one of them. Consequently, we may as well surrender the legend unconditionally, and pass on to graver matters.

CHAPTER V

Thurkill, the Traitor Earl--Why he was not at Hastings—How the Conqueror favoured him—How he changed his Name, and was the Ancestor of William Shakespeare.

WE have now done with the collapsing legends, and may tread upon the solid floor of history. Facts are at last at our disposal—trustworthy, though not as yet superabundant. We cannot go into many details; but we are sure of our ground, such as it is.

The last Earl of Warwick whom we mentioned was Wygotus, who is said to have married the sister of the Lady Godiva's husband, Leofric, Earl of Mercia. A Harleian MS. is our authority for the statement that he had by her Alwine, Earl of Warwick, slain by the Danes at Stamford Hill, in the first year of the reign of Harold, son of Godwin, Earl of Wessex; and that Alwine, in his turn, had a son, Thurkill, Earl of Warwick, who married a Countess of Perche. About Thurkill (or Turchill, as the name is sometimes written) we really know facts, from Domesday Book, from Dugdale's "Baronage," and from a few other sources.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that he was present at the consecration of the minster of Assandune in 1020; that he was outlawed by King Cnut, 1021, but received into favour again, and entrusted with the

government of Denmark in 1023; also that he marched against the Welsh with "Elfyet and many good men" to avenge the death of Edwin, brother of Leofric of

From the Rous Roll.

THURKILL, EARL OF WARWICK.

Mercia, in 1039. His position in the county is carefully fixed by Dugdale.

"This Turchill," says Dugdale, "resided here in Warwick, and had great possessions in this County, when William Duke of Normandy invaded England,

and vanquisht King Harold, and though he were then a man of especial note and power yet he did give no assistance to Harold in that Battail, as may easily be seen from the favour he received at the hands of the Conqueror, for by the General Survey begun about the 14. of King William's Reign, it appears that he then continued possest of vast lands in this Shire, and yet whereof was neither the borough, or castle of Warwick any part."

His possessions are enumerated in Domesday Book. There are no fewer than seventy entries under his name, of which the following may serve as examples :—

"Robert de Olgi holds of Turchil, in Dercelai (probably Dosthill), 2 hides in mortgage. The arable employs 3 ploughs. There are 7 villeins, with 2 ploughs, and 2 bondmen. A mill pays 32d., and there are 10 acres of meadow. Wood 2 furlongs long, and the same broad. It was worth 3cs., now 40s. Untain held it."

The reason why Thurkill refrained from opposing the Conqueror is clear enough. His relatives, the Earls of Mercia, Leofric, and his successors Ælfgar and Morkere, had been constantly in arms against Harold, whom Mercia generally had never really recognised as King of England. Posterity, however, without taking account of his reason, has contemptuously styled him "the Traitor Earl," and he certainly profited by his treachery. Though William later on took some of his estates for the endowment of the new Earldom of Warwick, Thurkill's son held of the new Earl,

holding by sergeantry in his household, and taking the name of de Arden; and Thurkill himself, as a mark of special favour, was allowed to retain his property for life, and was even appointed *custos* of the newly fortified town of Warwick.

That is all there is to be said about him, except that he has a further claim on our interest through the most illustrious of his descendants. Observe :—

"TURCHILL was twice married; by his second wife LEVERUNIA, daughter, according to Drummond, of ALGAR, son and successor of LEOFRIC, EARL of MERCIA, he had a son, OSBERT DE ARDEN, whose daughter and heir, AMICE, carried the ancient seat of the Mercian kings, called after them Kingsbury, to her husband PETER DE BRACEBRIDGE, of Bracebridge, co. Lincoln, and one of their descendants, ALICE BRACEBRIDGE, became the wife of Sir JOHN ARDEN, Knight, elder brother of THOMAS ARDEN, maternal great-grandfather of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE."

So it is written in "Shakespeareana Genealogica." Among the literary associations of the Earldom of Warwick—which it will be seen, as our narrative proceeds, are fairly numerous—this, the earliest and most glorious, is also, in all probability, the least known. Most Earls of Warwick have almost certainly lived and died without ever discovering their connection with England's greatest poet.

CHAPTER VI

The Rebuilding of the Castle by William the Conqueror—Architectural Particulars—Henry de Newburgh, the first Norman Earl—His Offices—His Benefactions to Religious Houses—His Services to Henry I.—His Death and Burial.

CASTLES were of great importance in the early Norman period. The Conqueror wisely consolidated his power by assigning them to men whom he could trust. The barons held them, and the estates attached to them, on condition of rendering military service at the royal call. The tenants owed an analogous duty to the barons. "Hear, my lord," they swore; "I become liegeman of yours for life and limb and earthly regard, and I will keep faith and loyalty to you for life and death, God help me." A new power in this way arose which ultimately became a check to the absolutism of the Crown, and even a danger to it, but for the moment served the purpose of the King by nipping Saxon risings in the bud. Collectively, the new baronage was as strong as had been the old Earldoms of Mercia, Wessex, Northumbria, etc., now abolished; but its strength was more scattered and less organised.

Restrictions, too, unknown to the superseded Saxon nobility, were introduced. The sub-tenants, in addition to their oaths of allegiance to their lords,

swore direct allegiance to their King. When estates devolved upon minors, the profit of them passed during their minority to the King. When they devolved upon heiresses, a curious custom, which we shall meet with in the course of our narrative, prevailed. The lady's hand was at the King's disposal, and he could put her up to auction and sell her to the highest bidder. Moreover, there were dues to be paid, the assessing of which was the purpose of the compilation of Domesday Book.

Except for the favour shown to the Traitor Earl, it was at Warwick as elsewhere. Warwick Castle was, in the first instance, not the Earl's Castle, but the King's. "William," says Clark, to whom I am indebted for so much valuable information, "made it to be understood that the chief castles of the realm, by whomsoever built, were royal castles; and their actual acquisition was always an important part of the policy of both him and his successors so long as castles were of consequence."

It was, in fact, by the King, and not by the Earl, that the Castle was restored. "The same King William," says our good friend Rous, "enlarged the castle, and diked the town, and gated it, and for the enlarging of the Castle there were pulled down, among other, xxvi houses that were tenancies to the houses of the monks of Coventry, as is writ plainly in Domesday the Book."

Rous, however, was no expert in the history of fortifications, and would only assume the work to

have been similar to that of his own day, when stone was the material used. The Castle was wanted in a hurry, and the general rule of the reign was, according to Clark, that "some temporary arrangement was made, and the existing works strengthened until it was convenient to replace them by others more in accordance with the new ideas of strength and security."

At what exact dates stone walls were built in place of the wooden palisades we do not know. Only parts of this, the second, Castle now remain—namely, the basement of the curtain between Guy's Tower and the *mota*, and on the riverside the basement of the undercroft, in both of which are blocked semi-circular doors, and in the latter, part of an early newel stair.

We find, moreover, that, when the keep was erected, it was a polygon like that at York,[1] though the portion now standing may be a portion of the restoration of Sir Fulke Greville. In other respects the enceinte of the Edwardian Castle followed the lines of the Saxon *burh*, consisting of a parallelogram, having the *mota* on the west and in its least defensive line,

[1] "Warwick was one of the greatest, and by far the most famous of the midland castles, famous not merely for its early strength and later magnificence, but for the long line of powerful earls, culminating in the King Maker, who possessed it and bore its name. It was founded as a burh early in the tenth century, and the keep, said to have resembled Clifford's Tower at York, stood upon the mound: both are now removed. The castle, as usual, formed part of the enceinte of the town, and the wall from the west gate to the castle stood upon an early earth bank" (G. Clark, "Med. Mil. Arch.," p. 80).

the gatehouse and barbican flanked by Cæsar's Tower on the south-east and Guy's Tower on the north-east, both capable of raking the approach to the curtain walls, and the former defending the bridge into the town.

AN ARCH OF THE CLOCK TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.
Showing the Archers' gallery.

The safest position, crenelated and loopholed like the rest, was chosen as the habitable portion, and the living-rooms were built upon a series of vaulted undercrofts at a later date.

That Warwick Castle was at this date, and the reign of James I., a royal castle, and that the Royal Exchequer was charged with expenses connected with it, is further demonstrated by various entries in the Pipe Roll.[1]

This is enough, however, for the present, of architecture—a subject apt to be dull to those who have not specialised in it. It is time to leave the Castle in order to trace the fortunes of its new Earls.

Henry de Newburgh, the first Norman Earl, was the second son of Roger, Earl of Beaumont. Like the Traitor Earl whom he supplanted, he was absent, for what reason is not known, from the battle called Hastings by the vulgar, and Senlac by the learned. Born about 1046, he stood high in the Conqueror's favour, and held various offices, though he resided principally in Normandy. In 1068, at the age of twenty-two, he was made Constable of Warwick Castle, and he became Councillor to William I. in 1079, and Baron of the Exchequer of Normandy in 1080, and was, apparently, created Earl of Warwick by William the Red—the William Rufus of our school-books—after 1085.

Our information about him is but scanty; but what we do know of him is entirely to his credit. He was diligent in the founding of religious houses. As Dugdale says:—"He founded the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre in Warwick, and was patron of Préaulx, a Norman abbey founded by Humfrey de Verulis, grand-

[1] *Vide* Appendix.

father of Robert, Earl of Melleux (himself a monk in it), and completed by Roger, son of Robert. To the abbey Henry, Earl of Warwick, gave the Manor of Warmington, and the parent foundation sent over monks to found a cell here; he also confirmed to them the adjoining Manor of Arlescote, together with tithes of Cherlenton and toftes in Norfolk."[1] He played a useful part at a time of civil dissension. Henry I., it will be remembered, had trouble with the barons on his accession, and appealed to his English subjects against them, granting a charter and marrying a Saxon princess. Throughout these disturbances Henry de Newburgh was on the side of King and people, and it was largely owing to his influence that the discord was quieted and the King came safely to his throne.

He married, at an uncertain date, but certainly before 1100, Margaret, elder daughter of Geoffrey, Count of Perche, by Beatrice, daughter of Hildiun, fourth Count of Montdidier and Roncy, and had three sons,—Roger de Newburgh, who succeeded him; Rotrod, who became Bishop of Evreux and Archbishop of Rouen; and Robert, Lord of Newburgh, Seneschal and Justice of Normandy. He died on June 20th, 1123, and was buried in the Abbey of Préaulx, near Pont Audemer, in Normandy.

[1] Dugdale, "Antiquities of Warwickshire," vol. i., 539.

CHAPTER VII

The House of Newburgh continued—Roger de Newburgh—William de Newburgh—Waleran de Newburgh—Henry de Newburgh—Thomas de Newburgh—Ela, Countess of Warwick—Her Second Husband—Her Benefaction to the University of Oxford.

ROGER DE NEWBURGH'S tenure of the Earldom was contemporaneous with the stormy reign of Stephen. His name appears in the list of witnesses to the two charters granted by the King to his people, at London and Oxford respectively. Afterwards, when the King broke his pledges, and misgoverned the country in various ways, creating new barons with pensions on the Exchequer, importing Flemish mercenaries, and debasing the coinage to provide their pay, he joined the party of the Empress Maud. He was present at the siege of Winchester, and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards exchanged, with the Earl of Gloucester, for Stephen. It is also said that he conquered Gower Land, in Wales.

The times in which he lived were truly terrible. Civil war had brought the country to chaos. The central authority was set at nought, and every feudal lord governed his dependants and harried his enemies as he chose. The English Chronicle, quoted by Green, draws a lurid picture of their barbarous proceedings :—

"They hanged up men by their feet and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings

From the Rous Roll.

ROGER DE NEWBURGH, EARL OF WARWICK.

about their head and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a chest, short

and narrow and not deep, and that had sharp stones within, and forced men therein so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things called rachentegés, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was thus made: it was fastened to a beam, and had a sharp iron to go about a man's neck and throat, so that he might noways sit, or lie, or sleep, but he bore all the iron. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger."

To say that Roger de Newburgh was "better than his age," when this is what his age was like, is not, perhaps, to load him with excessive flattery. For what it may be worth, however, he seems to be entitled to the compliment. One need not lay stress upon his benefactions to religious houses, which were many, including the raising of St. Mary's, Warwick, to collegiate rank; for such benefactions, being the fashion of the period, prove little. But a chronicle of the period—"Gesta Regis Stephani"—speaks of him as "a man of gentle disposition"; and the town of Warwick remembers him as the founder of the Hospital of St. Michael in the Saltesford, which he endowed with the tithes of Wedgnock (*vide* Appendix) and other property, and of the House of the Templars, beyond the Bridge, afterwards Temple Manor,[1] and now Temple Mount. Moreover, he took

[1] Roger, Earl of Warwick, built the House of the Templars beyond the Bridge. William, Earl of Warwick, built a new church for the Templars there (Collins, "Peerage," vol. v., 101).

part in a crusade, and was apparently in the great expedition of Conrad of Hohenstaufen, Louis VII., and Eleanor of Aquitaine, which wrested Lisbon from the Moors.

He died on June 12th, 1153; and a year later his Countess, Gundrada, daughter of William, Earl of Warrenne and Surrey, to welcome Henry II., turned Stephen's soldiers out of the Castle, and delivered it to him.

His son, Earl William, is not very interesting. He was, like Earl Roger, a benefactor to religious houses; an honorary brother of Pipewell Abbey; and although Rous records that he "was a whyle hevy to the howis of Sepulcris of Warwick," and that the "Patriark of Jherusalem wrote to hym a full stiryng letter, wheche I have rod, and after he was a good lord to hem," yet he founded the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Warwick, and was patron of Whitby Abbey, and gave the monks of Combe a hide of land in Bilney in confirmation of the grant of Thurbert de Bilney, and ratified to the Priory of Kenilworth the churches of Loxley, Kenilworth, and Brailes. He also took the cross and went to the Holy Land, where he died without issue on November 15th, 1184, leaving the succession to his brother, Earl Waleran.

Earl Waleran is hardly more notable. He evidently had no taste for soldiering, for he paid scutage (£51 3s. 4d.) to escape military service in Wales. His position in the country is, however, attested by

the fact that at the coronation of King John he bore the right-hand sword. He had his troubles—according to Dugdale, "there starting up one who feigned himself to be his brother, Earl William"—and he granted the tithes of Wedgnock to St. Michael's Hospital, gave the nuns of Pinley lands in Curdeshale (Claverdon), and to the nuns of Wroxall a yardland in Brailes.

He died, December 12th, 1204, leaving by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Humphrey, Lord Bohun, a son and heir. He is said to have married secondly one Maud, of whom nothing is known; and, thirdly, Alice de Harecurt, to whom he must have been warmly attached, since she paid the heavy fine of £1,000 and ten palfreys to remain widow as long as she pleased. This lady, in the 9th of John, had Tanworth assigned to her as dower, with remainder to Ela, widow of Earl Thomas.

Henry de Newburgh, his son and heir, was only a boy of twelve when Waleran died. He was given in wardship to one Thomas Basset, of Hedinton. During his minority (in 1203) King John unlawfully granted away from him his lordship of Gower Land, in Wales, part of his ancient inheritance, giving it to William de Braose; but at his full age, by writ dated June 1st, 1213, directed Hugh de Chaucombe, then Sheriff of Warwickshire, to pay him the third penny of the county, and to deliver him seisin of the Castle of Warwick and all his lands. This may account for the fact that, in the quarrels that arose between John and

the barons, the Earl was on the King's side, together with the Earls of Chester, Warrenne, Pembroke, Salisbury, Ferrers, Arundel, Albemarle, and many others. One would rather by far that he had helped to wrest the great Charter from his worthless monarch at Runnymede. He fought for John's son, Henry III., during his minority, in the siege of Mount Sorel Castle and the storming of Lincoln, and also later at the siege of Biham.

However, he was not for long a King's man. In July, 1227, he was among the peers who sided with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, on an occasion of discord between him and Henry III. They assembled with horses and armed men at Stamford, and threatened the King if he did not forthwith repair the injury he had done to his brother, and further demanded the restitution of the charters of forest liberties which by the justiciar's advice he had suddenly cancelled at Oxford.

This is decidedly more satisfactory. No doubt, if the Earl had lived, we should have found him figuring in the agitations which procured the Provisions of Oxford. He died,[1] however, on October 10th, 1229, and on his death his widow, Philippa, gave 100 marks

[1] To his son Waleran he left his manors of Greetham and Cotsmore, co. Rutland, but he died before 1263 *sine prole*, though Rous makes him succeed as Earl on the death of John de Plessis (Note in G. E. C., "Complete Peerage"). His daughter Alice married William Mauduit of Hanslope, and received by her father's orders the Manor of Walton Mauduit. Gundred, his daughter, was educated by the nuns of Pinley, together with his niece Mabel, and the said nuns were to receive 2 marks of silver out of Claverdon for their pains.

that she might not be compelled to marry, but live a widow as she liked or marry whom she would, so that he were a loyal subject. In the same year she married Richard Siward, who proved a turbulent man, a warlike spirit from his youth, and joined, 17 Hen. III., in the rebellion against the King, which lasted for six years; but at last, in spite of his evil ways, was held in favour. The lady was divorced from Richard in 1242, and died four years later, being buried at Bicester Priory.

Thomas de Newburgh, who succeeded Henry, is another Earl of no particular importance. He paid scutage to be excused attendance in the King's ridiculous campaign in Gascony, was knighted at Gloucester in 1253, and bore the third sword at the coronation of Eleanor of Provence in 1236, claiming that it was his hereditary right to do so. He died on June 26th, 1242, some time before the outbreak of the great baronial war, and was buried at Warwick.

His Countess was Ela Longespée, daughter of William, first Earl of Salisbury. Her first husband having died soon after his union with her, she married, as his second wife, Sir Phillip Basset, widower, of Wycombe, Bucks, the Chief Justiciar of England, who, says Dugdale, "being an eminent man in that time, was one of the Peers that went to Pope Innocent the Fourth in An. 1245, 29 Hen. III., then sitting in the Council of Lyons, with Letters from the rest of the Nobility and Commons of England, representing the great oppressions under which this realm

at that time suffered by the Court of Rome, and desiring relief. And afterwards faithfully adhering to the said King in that great Rebellion of his Barons, was taken prisoner with him in the Battail of Lewes." The King, in a charter granting him certain properties, styled him, in what I believe is called dog-Latin, *amicus noster specialis.*

THE SEAL OF THOMAS DE NEWBURGH, EARL OF WARWICK.

The benefactions of this Countess of Warwick were numerous and substantial. She helped the monks of Reading, the canons of Oseney, the nuns of Godstow, and the Grey Friars of London; and one of her charities was of an exceptionally interesting character:—

"So great a friend was she to the University of Oxford, that she caused a common Chest to be made, and put therein Cxx marks, out of which such as were poor schollars, might upon security at any time, borrow something *gratis* for supply of their wants. In consideration whereof the said University were obliged to celebrate certaine solemne Masses every

year in S. Marie's Church, which Chest was in being in K. Edw. 4 time, and called by the name of Warwick Chest."

Her association with Oxford continued to the last, for it was at Headington that she died on February 6th, 1297, beloved by all for her wide charity and many virtues.

THE CHARTER OF HENRY DE NEWBURGH, EARL OF WARWICK, GRANTING THE ADVOWSON OF COMPTON VERNEY TO ST. MARY'S, WARWICK.

CHAPTER VIII

Margaret de Newburgh, Countess in her own Right—Her Two Husbands, John Marshall and John du Plessis—John Mauduit—The Last of the Norman Earls.

THOMAS DE NEWBURGH left no children. His sister Margaret, therefore, the daughter of Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, who was his next of kin, may be regarded as Countess in her own right from June 26th, 1262. The Earls of the House of Newburgh end with her, but the dignity was passed on, through her marriages, to other families—one of them, however, already related in degree of cousinship to the Norman house.

Her first husband was John Marshall, son and heir of John Marshall, of Hingham, co. Norfolk, who was Earl of Warwick in his right through his marriage from June 26th, 1242, until his death four months later: he had seisin of Warwick Castle, October 3rd, 1242, and died childless the same month. Royal pressure then induced her to marry again, and Margaret was united to John du Plessis, who is first mentioned as Earl of Warwick in 1245.

There are many families named du Plessis in France, and it is not certain to which of them John du Plessis belonged. According to the "Dictionary of National Biography" he was son of Hugh de

Plessis, whose name occurs as a royal knight, 1222-1227, and grandson of John de Plesseto, a witness to a charter of King John, 1204. But he may also have been youngest brother of Peter Seigneur du Plessis in 1249, and perhaps son of William, living 1201 and 1213, ancestors of the great family of du Plessis Richelieu.

Whatever his origin, however, he was a notable man, who might have said, with Napoleon, "Je suis ancêtre," but for the fact that he died without male issue, leaving the succession to a cousin of his wife.

He was by no means the sort of man to pay scutage in lieu of personal service in the wars. On the contrary, he served in Wales in 1231, and was with Henry III. in Gascony in 1253 and 1254; and on the latter occasion had an unpleasant adventure. Louis IX. had given him letters of safe conduct to go home through Poitou, and he set off in the company of Gilbert de Segrave and William Mauduit. On their way the party were treacherously waylaid, seized, and imprisoned by the citizens of the town of Pons. Segrave died in prison, and John du Plessis was detained until the following year. Henry III., says Matthew Paris, the chronicler, "was angry when he heard of it, but not so angry as he should have been had he had a royal heart; he did, however, write to the Citizens, but they paid no heed to his letter." The same chronicler records that the French King wrote to the citizens, "but they took no notice of his command."

His services to the King, however, were rewarded in various ways. In 1227 he was one of four knights to whom £60 was given for their support. His wife, too, was, as we have seen, bestowed upon him as a mark of royal favour. On the return from an expedition to Poitou, in 1242, he was granted a charger worth £30; and while in Gascony he was paid £200 for his services in conducting negotiations with Gaston de Béarn.

From the Rous Roll.
JOHN DU PLESSIS, EARL OF WARWICK.

Sundry offices were also given to him. He was Warden of Devizes Castle and of Chippenham Forest, Sheriff of Oxfordshire, Constable of the Tower of London, and a Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer for the counties of Somerset, Devon, and Dorset. He also particularly pleased the King by taking the cross in interesting circumstances, related by Matthew Paris:—

"On the Monday before Hokeday the King summoned all the Londoners to come to Westminster to hear his will; and ordered the Bishops of Worcester and Chester, and the Abbot of Westminster, to make a solemn sermon to the people on the subject of

taking up the cross. On account of the extortions and deceptions practised by the court of Rome very few took the cross, wherefore the King called the Londoners a pack of base mercenaries. The King himself (whose motives were suspected to have a financial origin) swore to take the cross on St. John the Baptist's day three years from that date. Among the courtiers Richard de Grey and his brother John, and John de Plexeto, took the cross, and the King ran up to them, and kissed and embraced them, calling them his brothers."

John du Plessis was also one of the royal representatives of the Committee of Twenty-four appointed under the Provisions of Oxford, one of the royal electors of the Council of Fifteen, and a member of that body. He was also one of the barons who, as we read in the "Annals of Dunstable," "took the King's brothers at Winchester, and took them to the sea, making them swear never to return." He died on February 25th, 1263, and was buried at Missenden Abbey, Buckinghamshire.

Countess Margaret[1] had predeceased her second husband; and as he had no children by her, the Earldom passed to her first cousin, William de Mauduit, a grandson of Waleran, Earl of Warwick, and a great-grandson, through his father, of the chamberlain of

[1] "She gave to the poor of the borough of Warwick the comin ground that into thys daye is callyd the Cleyputtis. . . . She was special good Lady to the Hospital of Seynt Mihels of Warwick, among odre gevyng hem fredame these Courtis to holde, aftre the form of the Comun Law" (Rous Roll).

Henry I. His name marks the beginning of that preference of the constitution of the kingdom to the

From the Rous Roll.

WILLIAM DE MAUDUIT, EARL OF WARWICK.

prerogative of the King which has been the characteristic of so many Earls of Warwick after him. His father had fought against John during the barons'

war, when his Castle of Hanslape was taken and destroyed by Fawkes de Breauté, and was on the same side at Lincoln on May 20th, 1217.

He himself, in the war which the barons waged against King Henry III. because he would not observe the Charter, took part at first with Simon de Montfort. Afterwards he became a backslider, and had to pay penalty for his backsliding, as is recorded in the Roll of Rous. In 1264, says Rous:—

"He held ever of the King's part, wherefore Sir Andrew Gifford by treason took the Castle of Warwick," and beat down the wall, and "took with him the Earl and the Countess to Kenilworth Castle, and ransomed the Earl at xix hundred marks that was justly paid: at which time Alice the Countess, playing at Chess in Kenilworth Castle with Sir Richard Roundville, Knight, took 1 pawn of his; and at the same season he was challenged by his armies appointed at the Castle gate; then rose he and took that Knight, and brought him to the lady, and with him redeemed or ransomed his pawn. After, by appointment, the Castle was yielded up to the King, that time being with his great Counsel at Warwick."

Mauduit died on January 8th, 1268,[1] having

[1] "His heart was interred at Catesby Priory, co. Northants, and his body in Westminster Abbey. At his death he held the Manor of Berndon, with the advowson of the church there and that of Inchiffeham, also land at Langedich, the Manor of Chedworth-Horley, the Manor of Warwick, with land at Wegenok, and the advowson of the Church of the Blessed Mary there, with its eight prebends, and that of the Church of St. James, the Manor of Brailes and a market; also the Manor of Walton Mauduit, alienated by the Earl" (Chancery Inq. P. M., 52 Hen. III. 17 a).

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

GUY'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE, FROM THE DRIVE.

married Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Segrave. He left no children, and the Earldom of Warwick consequently passed to his sister's son, William Beauchamp, who was father of Guy de Beauchamp.

And so we take our leave of the Norman Earls of Warwick. There were, as we have seen, both great men and ordinary men among them. But I fear I have failed to make any of them vital figures. The material is so scanty that I have no right to try. There is little but the stray references of old chroniclers to build upon; and on that foundation nothing very definite or characteristic can be built. The great men who stand out clearly in the period we have passed through are men like Anselm, Lanfranc, Thomas à Becket, and Simon de Montfort. The Earls of Warwick of the period do not leave any definite impress. The possibilities of picturesqueness in our history come later on.

A DEED CONFIRMING COMPTON VERNEY FROM WILLIAM, EARL OF WARWICK, TO ROGER MURDOC.
In the Collection of Lord Willoughby de Broke.

BOOK II

THE HOUSE OF BEAUCHAMP

CHAPTER I

The House of Beauchamp—William de Beauchamp—His Wars in Wales—Guy de Beauchamp—His Enmity to Piers Gaveston—The Execution of Piers Gaveston on Blacklow Hill.

THE Beauchamps "came over with the Conqueror," though that is the least of their claims to distinction.

The family took its rise from Walter de Beauchamp, or Bellocampo, a Norman who had granted to him the estates of Roger de Wygracestra, as also the shrievalty of Worcester, which Urso D'Abitot had held in the time of William I., whose daughter Emeline Walter had married. His son William held the office of Dispensator to the King, and his great-grandson, William de Beauchamp, married Isabel Mauduit, sister and heir of William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick, as we have already seen.

From early times we find the heads of the house figuring in the civil wars. William the first named played an important part in the wars of Stephen, siding with Empress Maud, who granted him the

city of Worcester, which Stephen had given to Earl Waleran. The Empress added to this a grant of the shrievalty of the county and its forests, which included Malvern Chase, and also restored to him the Castle and Honour of Tameworth, and the Rutland estates of Bekeford, Weston, and Luffenham, and granted him an annuity of £60 per annum.

His grandson changed sides more than once under John. He was first in arms against the King, owing to excessive scutage, and again after the signing of the Great Charter of Liberties at Runnymede, but made his peace, and was absolved by the Legate Gualo. After the death of the King he had livery of his Castle of Worcester, and was made Sheriff of Worcestershire, but subsequently fell into disfavour, probably siding with the rebel barons against Henry III.

His son, William de Beauchamp,[1] was in the wars both in Gascony and Wales. He was, as we have seen, the husband of Isabel, daughter of William Mauduit, of Hanslape, and the father of the William de Beauchamp who became Earl of Warwick.

This first Earl of the House of Beauchamp, who succeeded to the title on January 12th, 1268, and did

[1] "His will, dated morrow of the Epiphany, 1268, bequeathed his body to be buried in the Friars Minors of Worcester, and ordered that a horse fully armed should be led behind the coffin. He left to Joan, his daughter, 'Surcellam Sancti Wolstani' and a book of Lancelot; to William, his eldest son, the cup and horns of St. Hugh, and many small sums to various religious foundations, the largest, x marks, being left to the nuns of Cokehill" (Register of Bishop, f. 11 d).

Engraved by S. Rawle, from a drawing by C. Wild, 1812.

THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

homage for it on February 9th of the same year, was one of the guardians of Prince Edward (afterwards Edward II.) during his father's absence from the kingdom, and one of the sureties for the King that he would renew in England the confirmation of the charters first made on foreign soil. He was also a formidable fighting-man, who distinguished himself both in Scotland and in Wales. In the former country he retook Dunbar Castle, which had been captured by the Scots, and in the latter he performed several notable feats of arms. At a place called Meismeidoc, Madoc-ap-Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, "fled disgracefully" before him, leaving slain "700 of their best men, besides those drowned and mortally wounded." In Merionethshire he "brought Morgan, a Prince of South Wales, in the King's peace"; and in a battle fought after the passage of the Conway he gained a victory, thus picturesquely recorded in the "History of Walsingham":—

"The Earl of Warwick," we there read, "hearing that the Welsh were assembled in great numbers in a certain plain between two woods, took with him a picked band of soldiers, with archers, etc., and surrounded them in the night. The Welsh fixed their lances in the ground, and tried to protect themselves with their shields against the onrushing horsemen. But the Earl put one slinger (*balistarius*) between each two horsemen, and thus killing most of those who were holding the lances, rushed upon the others with the horsemen, and made an incredible slaughter."

His rewards were the appointments of Constable of Rockingham Castle, and Steward of the Royal Trusts between Oxford and Stamford. His death, like his life, was picturesque. The account of it is given in the "Annales de Wigornia":—

"Being sore sick, in the absence of all his friends, he made his will by the advice of Brother John of Olneye; who persuaded him not to be buried with his predecessors in the cathedral church of Worcester, but among the Friars Minors; he died 5 Ides June.[1] Solemn vigils were kept in the convent of Pershore and the church of Worcester. At length the friars, with the body of so great a man, like victors with their booty, on 10 Kal. July went all round the places and streets of the city, and made a spectacle for the citizens; and so they buried him in a place where no one was ever yet placed, where in winter time one would be rather said to be drowned than buried, and where I formerly have seen green herbs (*olera*) growing."

[1] His arms are given in the Grimaldi Roll as "De goules croiseleetz dor, ove une fees dor." Chancery Inquisition (26 Edw. I. 41) informs us of the extent of Warwick Castle and the property appertaining to it at this period:—

"Thursday after the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 26 Edw. I. Extent of the lands, etc., which Sir William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, held in Warwick on the day he died. A castle, worth 6s. yearly, 240 acres of arable land, 88 acres of meadow, a several pasture, 90 free tenants (with account of their rents); toll of the market-place; stallage there; farm of the bailiffs; a fishery in the Auene; the preserve (vivarium) of Pakmor, with a small preserve towards Loudesham; 4 watermills; pleas and perquisites of the Court and portmote. At Wegenok there are 80 acres of arable land, a park containing 20 acres, a small preserve. All held of the King in chief by the services of 5 knights' fees."

His son Guy, by his wife Maud, widow of Gerard de Furnival, of Sheffield, and daughter of John Fitz Geoffrey, of Berkhampstead, who became Earl in 1298, was an even more prominent man than his father, and may be saluted as the first Earl of Warwick whose deeds, whether we account them good or evil, have made his name familiar to every schoolboy. He was present at Edward I.'s second marriage at Canterbury, was commissioner to treat with the French ambassadors in 1301, Councillor to Prince Edward in 1307, bearer of the third sword at Edward II.'s coronation in 1308, Chief Warden of the Castles of Skipton-in-Craven, Appleby, Bonham, and Pendragon, and patron of Weston Priory, in Norfolk. But his fame rests not upon these things, but upon his relations with the King and the King's favourites.

Edward I., it will be remembered, had assigned his son as companion Piers Gaveston, the son of an old Gascon servant, but, finding that Gaveston's influence was bad, had, towards the end of his reign, banished him from the kingdom. The new King's first act was to recall his friend, and make him Earl of Cornwall.

We have been taught to look with contempt upon Piers Gaveston. Still, he had certain personal merits. "The favourite," says John Richard Green, "was a fine soldier, and his lance unhorsed his opponents in tourney after tourney." This, as he was a foreigner, did not help to make him popular. He increased his unpopularity by inducing the King to dismiss old

THE BREASTPLATE OF GUY DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

Now in the Armoury of Warwick Castle.

ministers, and to set aside claims of precedence or inheritance in the distribution of coronation offices. Moreover, he had a nimble wit, and incurred further dislike by bestowing nicknames on the barons. The Earl of Lincoln was "burst belly," Lancaster was "the fiddler" or "the play actor," Gloucester, his own brother-in-law, was "whoreson" (*filz à puteyne*), and Guy, Earl of Warwick, was "the black hound of Ardern."

The barons, just then, were in no mood to stand nonsense from either favourite or King. Edward I., who was a strong man, had already found them stubborn. When he had issued writs, in imitation of the French King, requiring every noble to produce his titles to his estates, Earl Warrenne had replied

by flinging his sword upon the commissioners' table. "This, sirs," he said, "is my title-deed. By the sword my fathers won their lands when they came over with the Conqueror, and by my sword I will hold them." Other barons had refused to follow the King in a Flemish expedition. "By God, Sir Earl," he swore to Bohun of Hereford, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, Sir King," was the reply, "I will neither go nor hang."

The son was hardly likely to be a match for the men who had thus stood up to his father. Gaveston had to be banished; and the King had to agree, in 1310, to the appointment of Lords Ordainers, who were to hold office for a year, and make ordinances for the good of the realm agreeable to the tenor of the coronation oath. The Earl of Warwick was one of these Lords Ordainers.

Piers Gaveston had, in the meanwhile, been recalled by the King; and, while some of the ordinances dealt with such matters as the reform of taxation, the proper administration of justice, and the regular holding of parliaments, one of them required the favourite's banishment, this time for life. Edward II. first accepted this ordinance, and then annulled it. The barons were enraged, and the Earl of Warwick was the most wroth of all. The nickname rankled, and he had sworn to be avenged. "Let him call me hound," he had said: "one day the hound will bite him." And the hour when the hound could bite was coming.

The King went north, and the barons marched against him. Let Capgrave's "Chronicle" tell us what happened next:—

"When the King had seen that the Lords came

THE SHIELD OF GUY DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.
In the Armoury of Warwick Castle.

with such strength, he fled unto Tynemouth, and by the sea led Peter to the Castle of Scarborough, and there left him, commanding the country that they stuff the Castle with victuals and with men. But short to say, the Lords took this man, and he prayed them that he

might speak with the King or he died. They would have lodged him in a town close by Warwick, called Dodington, but the Earl of Warwick came with strength and led him to his Castle. And when they were in great doubt what they should do with him, whether they should lead him to the King or not, a great-witted man said thus; 'Many days have ye hunted and failed of your game; now have ye caught your prey. If he escape your hands, ye get him not lightly.' Soon was he led out, and his head smote off."

He was not executed in the Castle, however, but a mile away, at Blacklow Hill, where the place of his death is marked by an inscription. How this came about is explained in detail in the Chronicle of Adam Murimuth:—

"The King wished Peter de Gaverstone to be conveyed to him by Lord Adomar de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, for safety; and, when they were at Danyntone next Bannebury, the same earl sent him away in the night, and he went near to one place for this reason. And on the morrow in the morning came Guy, Earl of Warwyk, with a low-born and shouting band, and awakened Peter and brought him to his Castle of Warwyk; and, after deliberation with certain elders of the kingdom, and chiefly with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, finally released him from prison to go where he would. And when he had set out from the town of Warwyk even to the place called, somewhat prophetically, Gaveressich, he came there with many men, making a clamor against him with their voices and

horns, as against an enemy of the King and a lawful outlaw of the kingdom, or an exile; and finally beheaded him as such xix day of the month of June."

So the favourite died. His execution, according

THE ENTRANCE TO PIERS GAVESTON'S DUNGEON, WARWICK CASTLE.

to Holinshed, was "a just reward for so scornefull and contemptuous a merchant, as in respect of himselfe (bicause he was in the prince's favour), esteemed the nobles of the land as men of such inferioritie, as that, in comparison of him, they deserved no little jot or mite of honour."

Stubbs, however, in "The Early Plantagenets," passes a different moral judgment. The execution was, in his view, "a piece of vile personal revenge for insults which any really great man would have scorned to avenge."

However that may be, it would appear that retribution overtook the Earl. He died a mysterious death, and the general opinion was that he was poisoned—some said by the Despensers, others by a mistress of Piers Gaveston. His character is variously summed up by the chroniclers. "A most severe soldier" is one verdict; "A discreet and cultured man" (*homo discretus et bene literatus*) is another; but I do not know where any evidence of his culture is to be found.

We have a further valuation of the Warwick property in a Chancery Inquisition, dated Tuesday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the ninth year of King Edward II.'s reign:—

"The easements of the castle with the castle ditch (fossato) are worth 6s. 8d. yearly; a garden without the castle and another garden called 'le Wynyerd'; three carucates of arable land in demesne in several fields called 'le Mort,' 'le Ryfeld,' 'Berreford,' and in the field towards 'le Lee'; there is 85 acres of Lovell's land; 30 acres of fallow land without the park of Wegenoc, and lying in common; the easements of Lovell's houses with garden; $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres of meadow in 'le Castelmedewe'; other meadow land in Mitton meadow and 'le lemedew,' the meadow of Berreford,

and in Lovell's meadow which is called 'Stochullemede'; there is a several pasture called Pakkemor, with a little meadow called Tappingesmede; 2 'Hammes' in the fields of Cotis; 2 'Lynches' and two pieces of pasture called 'Le Puttes,' which are 'in defenso' for two years and in the third year because it lies in the fallow field; a plot of land called Conyngere; the pasture of Coumbewell; a park with game called Wegenoc, with underwood and two preserves (vivaria) therein, and one preserve next Lodenam; a fishery in the water of Auene; 4 watermills, which mills were destroyed (destructe) by the flood on the Vigil of St. Luke the Evangelist this year; toll of the marketplace with stallage; pleas of court; account of rents.

"Extent of the Templars' manor of Warwick: easements of the houses with gardens; 160 acres of arable land in demesne; 24 acres of meadow; a pasture in demesne after the corn has been carried and when it lies fallow; one watermill; pleas of court; one fallow croft; 34 free tenants. The said Templars used to find one chantry in the said manor for the ancestors of the Earls of Warwick. The Earl entered the said manor by the forfeiture of the Templars; and it is held together with the castle by the service aforesaid."

CHAPTER II

Thomas de Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick of Edward III.'s French Wars—His Exploits at Crecy, at Poictiers, and at Calais—His Death—His Arms and Crest—His Monument in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

GUY DE BEAUCHAMP married Alice, widow of Thomas Leyburne, daughter of Ralph de Toni, and sister of Robert, Lord de Toni. His son Thomas succeeded him at two years of age.

THE SEAL OF THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, 11TH EARL OF WARWICK (1369-1401).

The public appointments of Thomas de Beauchamp were more numerous than those of his father. He was by hereditary right Pantler[1] of England, Sheriff of Worcester, Constable of Worcester Castle, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer; was knighted January 1st, 1330, and had livery of his lands February 20th, 1330; and was Guardian of the Peace, co. Warwick and Worcester, March 23rd, 1332;

[1] "*Pantler:* An officer in a great family who has charge of the bread; in general, a servant who has charge of the pantry. ***Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to bear the third sword before the King; and also to exercise the Office of Pantler*** (Baker, Chronicles, p. 136)."—Century Dictionary.

Captain of the Army against the Scots, March 25th, 1337, and the day previous Royal Commissioner to Parliament; Chief Commissioner to treat with the Scots, July 24th, 1337; Chief Commissioner of Array in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, February 16th, 1339; Constable of the Host in Flanders, 1339; Chief Governor of Southampton, July 10th, 1339; Chief Justice of Oyer and Terminer in the Royal Forests of Salcey, Rockingham, and Whittlewood, August 10th, 1341; Chief Surveyor of the East Marches and Commissioner to treat with Scotland, July 16th, 1367; and Ambassador to Flanders, October 20th to November 5th, 1367. His position in history, however, is determined, not by any of these honours, but by the fact that he was the Earl of Warwick of the French wars of Edward III.

From an old print of the window in York Cathedral.

THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

Those wars were really a

legacy from the two preceding reigns. France had taken the part of Scotland in the wars of Edward I., and the French fleet had, in consequence, been severely handled in a naval battle which the English sailors insisted upon fighting in spite of the King's endeavours to hold them back. Intermittent hostilities followed; but the real crisis did not come until Edward III. put forward his claim to the French crown. He claimed through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV., contending that the nearest living male descendant of that king had a better title than females who were related to him in as near a degree. His first intention was to fight with mercenaries and foreign allies. When these failed him, he decided to invade with an English army, and landed at La Hogue with thirty thousand men.

The leading events in the campaign—the stories of the siege of Calais and of the great battles of Creçy and Poictiers—are familiar to every schoolboy. Our concern here is to trace the part played in the great military drama by Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

We first hear of him at the landing. Here, says Walsingham, "the Earl of Warwick displayed wonderful valour, for he left the ship before the others, with one esquire and six archers, riding a feeble horse taken in the hurry of the moment, and boldly attacked 100 men, and at one onset, with his said followers, slew sixty Normans, and enabled the whole army to land without hindrance."

From La Hogue the King marched north, intending to join a Flemish force, gathered at Gravelines. He was pursued; his army dwindled; he was nearly compelled to surrender. Brought to bay, he turned to give battle, at the little village of Creçy, in Ponthieu. We all know what happened: how the Genoese crossbow-men were helpless because a shower of rain had wetted their bow-strings; how the English arrows fell so fast that "it seemed as if it snowed"; how the King refused help to his son, the Black Prince, saying, "Let the boy win his spurs"; how twelve hundred knights and thirty thousand footmen—a number equal to the whole English army—fell; how the cry of "God has punished us

A PIECE OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE'S ARMOUR.
In the Armoury of Warwick Castle.

for our sins" broke from the chronicler of Saint Denys.

From the Chronicle of Knighton we gather that the Earl of Warwick was in the great charge which determined the issue of the day :—

"In the first line of Battle was Edward Prince of Wales, eldest son of King Edward, the Earl of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwyk, with their men, who fought the van of the French, and by divine assistance overcame it ; then without any cessation the second rank also, in which were two kings and a duke, viz. the Kings of Bohemia and Malogria and Duke of Loryngia, and many others."

From another chronicler, Robert de Avesbury, we gather that "they took of knights and squires great number, and slew 2,000 or more and chased them three leagues of the land."

The way was now open for the march to Calais. The King was resolved to capture that town because it was a great resort of pirates. It sounds incredible, but it seems to be true, that twenty-two privateers had sailed from its port in a single year. The siege, as we know, lasted for a year. Supplies being introduced in the course of the operations, the Earl of Warwick "kept guard on the sea with 80 ships," to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. He also conducted a dashing guerilla raid when the French were mustering to relieve the town. He, "with many others," says Knighton, "plundered the fair of Tyrwan (Terouenne), and there came in many armed men

From a painting in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.
EDWARD, THE BLACK PRINCE.

deputed to defend the market, viz. the Bishop of Tyrwan with his men to the number of 10,000 men at arms, whom the English fought and slew very many. The Bishop himself was badly wounded and scarce escaped with his life. The Earl of Warwick with his people plundered the market and spoiled it, and whatever was of value carried in carts and on horseback to the King at Calais."

This is not the place to repeat the story of the fall of Calais. How six of the burgesses surrendered unconditionally on the promise that the garrison and people should be spared; how the King was for hanging them, but spared them on the intercession of Queen Philippa,—these things may be read in any manual of history. Thomas de Beauchamp was engaged in one military operation in the same year. He "made an expedition from the King's army to the vill of St. Omer, and lost many men at arms and archers to the number of 180 men"; and he was also 'captain at sea" against the Spaniards in 1350, in the battle in which Froissart pictures the King "sitting on deck in his jacket of black velvet, his head covered with a black beaver hat which became him well, and calling to his minstrels to play to him on the horn, and on John Chandos to troll out the songs he had brought from Germany," till the Spanish ships came up and were destroyed.

A truce followed; and then came the campaigns in which the Black Prince won fresh glory. Thomas de Beauchamp was with him "with 1,000 men of arms and 2,000 archers, with a great many Welsh." Many of the incidents of the operations were far from creditable to the English name. Loot was the principal object of the expeditions up the Garonne and to the Loire; and loot was forthcoming in abundance. "The English and Gascons," we read, "found the country full and gay, the rooms adorned with carpets and draperies, the caskets and chests full of fair jewels.

But nothing was safe from these robbers. They, and especially the Gascons, who are very greedy, carried off everything . . . their horses so laden with spoil that they could hardly move."

It was in the course of the second of these predatory excursions that King John of France, with an army of sixty thousand men, barred the path of the Black Prince and his eight thousand at Poictiers. The odds were such that the Prince offered to surrender all his prisoners, and to swear an oath not to fight against France again for seven years, if he were allowed free retreat. King John elected

From an engraving by Basire.

THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, AND HIS COUNTESS. FROM THEIR TOMB AT WARWICK.

to fight, and the result was as at Creçy, the King being captured with two thousand men-at-arms and many nobles, and eight thousand of his soldiers left dead upon the field.

Knighton's narrative shows how the Earl of Warwick played his part :—

"They were divided into three lines. The Earl of Warwyk had the first and opposed that led by the two Marshals of France. Now the van of the French began the fight with the Earl of Warwyk, but they were rapidly trampled underfoot by the archers. And the Marshal Clermont was slain and many others. The Earl of Warwyk followed them up flying, and slew some and took others prisoners. Whilst thus the King of the French began to join battle. He was overcome. The Earl of Warwyk returning from the flight of the enemy with his whole army opposed himself to the flank of the army of the King of France, and they fought desperately, and thus by the grace of God and not by human valour the victory was won."

A second truce of two years' duration followed the battle of Poictiers ; and after the truce came the treaty of Bretigny, whereby the English King waived his claims on the crown of France and on the Duchy of Normandy, but retained Calais, and received recognition of his right to the Duchy of Aquitaine (including Gascony, Guienne, Poitou, and Saintonge), not as a fief, but as an integral part of his dominions.

In 1368, however, war broke out again, and once again Thomas de Beauchamp was to the fore ; and it

was in the campaign of the following year that he met his death, a fighting-man to the last, though he did not fall upon the field.

Walsingham is our reporter. The scene of the exploit was Calais:—

"He reproached the Duke of Lancaster with sloth, saying he himself was going on, while the English bread still lay undigested in his men's stomachs. He then laid waste the island of Caws, no one daring to oppose him. But on his return to Calais he was suddenly carried off by a pestilential disease, leaving behind him no equal in the zeal of battle, nor in loyalty to the King and kingdom."

Evidently he was a great man in the esteem of his contemporaries. "A spirited warrior" is Walsingham's verdict in another place. He would seem, indeed, to have been so taken up with fighting that he let Warwick Castle fall into disrepair. A Chancery Inquisition[1] shortly after his death reports that it is "worth nothing beyond reprises," whereas, as we have seen, it had been worth "six shillings yearly" in the reign of Edward I.

His arms[2] are recorded in an Ashmolean MS.

[1] "Monday after Corpus Christi, 2 Hen. IV. The castle and manor of Warwick. The castle is worth nothing beyond reprises; ditto, the site of the manor of Warwick; there are there 300 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow; an old park called Weggenok with game; a several pasture called 'Paclemor'; a watermill; a several pasture (*sic*) in the river Auene; pleas of court, with view of frankpledge. (There is no separate extent of the Templars' manor.)"

[2] *Arms:* "De goul a un fes dor a sis croiseletz les boutz iumelz" (MS. Ashm., 15 a). *Crest:* out of a coronet a swan's head and neck.

Arms: "De goul a un fes dor a sis croiseletz les boutes jumelz" (MS. Ashm., 15 a).

We should now blazon the coat: Gules, a fess or between six crosses-crosslet botonée of the second.

He is buried in the choir of St. Mary's, Warwick, which he rebuilt.

In the centre of the chancel of St. Mary's, Warwick, is the handsome tomb of its founder and his Countess. Their effigies lie on a high tomb, the lady to the right of her husband, whose hand she holds. She wears a long, close-fitting robe, laced down the bodice, and has a long girdle, buckled in front and ornamented with the four-leaved flower. Above this is a loose cloak, fastened by a brooch on either shoulder. She wears the stiff netted head-dress of the period, and her feet rest on a bull. Her husband is in bascinet and camail, shirt of mail, with jupon over it, bearing the arms of Beauchamp. His arms are protected by brassarts, his legs with greaves, and the feet covered with pointed sollerets. His feet rest on a bear, and on either side of the tomb by the head-cushions are seated angels. About the sides of the tomb are thirty-six statuettes in cusped panels, and below these is a series of plain shields, which from Dugdale's figure seem formerly to have been tinctured. They represent alternately male and female members of the families of Beauchamp and Mortimer.

Drawn and engraved by Edward Blore, 1825.

THE TOMB OF THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, IN THE CHOIR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WARWICK.

CHAPTER III

Thomas de Beauchamp—His Hostility to Richard II.—His Arrest and Imprisonment—His Confession of Treachery—His subsequent Repudiation of it—His Death—Richard de Beauchamp—His Feats of Chivalry—His Tailor's Bill.

THE Thomas de Beauchamp whose famous deeds we have recounted married Katherine, eldest daughter of Roger, Earl of March. His eldest son, Guy, having predeceased him, another Thomas de Beauchamp,[1] his second son, succeeded to the title and estates.

He was only a moderately famous Earl, and perhaps one had better add, only a moderately satisfactory one. His renown is over-shadowed by his son's, no less than by his father's; though his titles, distinctions, and public offices and employments were numerous enough. He was Earl of Warwick, Baron Beauchamp of Elmley and Hanslape, Lord of Castle Barnard and Kirtling, and by hereditary right Pantler of England, Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Sheriff of the County of Worcester, Constable of Worcester Castle, and also Patron of Warwick Priory and Patron of Llangeneth Priory; Joint Ambassador to Scotland, 1376; Honorary Brother of St. Albans Abbey,

[1] His *badges* were: a bear (J. Gower, "Pol. Poems," i. 419); a ragged staff (tomb); *crest* as his father's; *supporters*, two bears.

January 22nd, 1377; Bearer of the Third Sword, Coronation of King Richard II., July 16th, 1377; Admiral of the North, December 5th, 1377, to November 5th, 1378; Joint Commissioner to supervise the Administration and Revenue at Home and Abroad, March 2nd, 1380; Tutor to King Richard II. about February, 1380-81; Joint Guardian of the Truce with Scotland, September 6th, 1380; Captain to oppose Rebels in the County of Northants, July 3rd, 1381; Captain to oppose Rebels in the Counties of Warwick and Worcester, July 5th, 1381; and a member of the Privy Council, 1386. But he does not seem to have been a man of any striking or impressive individuality.

He was with John of Gaunt in the fruitless French campaign of 1373, and afterwards in the descent on Brittany; but the interesting events of his life took place in the reign of the unfortunate Richard II.

In 1380 he "was elected by common consent to remain continuously with the King, receiving yearly a certain sum of money for his pains, as was fitting, out of the royal treasure"; and he led the largest contingent in the field (600 archers and 280 men-at-arms) in the Scotch campaign of 1385. In 1387, however, when the King tried to shake off his guardians, saying, "I have been longer under guardianship than any ward of my realm: I thank you for your past services, my lords, but I need them no longer," he joined the opposition, and, with the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel, marched on London.

The King tried to ambush his opponents on their

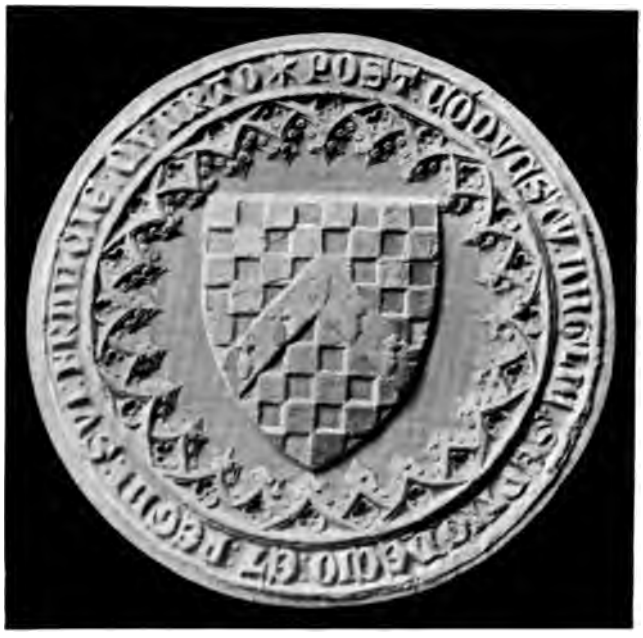
way, but failed; and they came to Westminster, and were given audience in Westminster Hall, while their armed followers stood outside the door. Richard, with cunning and ulterior motives, repaired to the Tower of London, and invited them to enter and have a second

THE OBVERSE OF THE SEAL OF THE FAMOUS THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, 12TH EARL OF WARWICK.

audience with him there. But they saw through the trick. The Tower was not, they replied, a safe place for them; but they would like a word with the King outside. The account of the subsequent proceedings may be taken from the "Eulogium Historiarum":—

"The King sent for the mayor, and commanded him to call the city to arms. The mayor refused,

saying the King's lieges were also friends of the kingdom. The King then sent the Duke of Ireland to gather forces at Chester, etc. The earls, with increased forces, having been joined by the Earl of Derby and the Earl of Nottingham, met the Duke



THE REVERSE OF THE SEAL OF THE FAMOUS THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, 12TH EARL OF WARWICK.

coming up with the King's standard flying, near Oxford. The Duke refused to fight, and fled with his confessor to Sheppey, and thence to Germany; his troops returned disgracefully, the strings of their bows cut, and beaten with their own arrows. And the said five lords took and killed a number of rebels at Rotcotbrigge."

For the time being they triumphed, and Richard was obliged to accept them as his advisers. But the triumph was short-lived. In 1389 there was a *coup d'état*. The King dismissed his new counsellors and "pulled in others that pleased better his use." Thomas de Beauchamp seems, as the vulgar say, to have "taken it lying down." He withdrew to Warwick Castle, and lived in retirement there, occupying himself with the building of the nave of St. Mary's Church.

The King awaited his opportunity for vengeance, which came in 1397. The Earl of Warwick had quarrelled with the Earl of Nottingham, who, by writ of error, had ousted him from the lands of Gower. Nottingham then denounced him for complicity in a conspiracy, the details of which are very obscure; and King Richard played him a treacherous trick, which succeeded better than the similar trick essayed on the occasion of the previous rising. "He made a great feast," say the annals of his reign, "for the Earls of Arundel and Warwick and the Duke of Gloucester. Warwick was the only one who came. The King took his hand, and promised to be his good lord, bidding him not grieve for the lost lands of Gower; he would provide him with lands of the same value. But when the banquet was ended, he had the earl arrested."

He was committed to the Tower—where the name of Beauchamp's Tower preserves the memory of his imprisonment—and brought to trial for high treason.

On his trial he seems to have lost his nerve, for he pleaded guilty—*confessa toute la trahison*—and threw himself on the King's mercy. His sentence was the forfeiture of his estates, and perpetual banishment to the Isle of Man. It is said that he was "inhumanely treated by the servants of William Scrop, to whom that Island belonged." One of his grievances was that he was not given enough to eat. He was brought back and recommitted to the Tower, whence he was liberated on the triumph of Henry IV.

His last public appearance is not greatly to his credit. He did not wish to go down to posterity branded as a traitor. Wherefore "he endeavoured to excuse his former admission of treason, in parliament, and blushing with shame, rose and stood in public, and asked the King that that record might be corrected, swearing that he had never uttered such words with his lips; but that there was a certain man that would have counselled him to confess thus, and he had refused to follow the advice."

The peers, however, had longer memories than he gave them credit for. Henry himself silenced the Earl, and, "unwilling to further dissimulate the testimony of such manifest truth, ordered that no more should be said on the subject."

It is said that Thomas de Beauchamp urged Henry to put Richard II. to death. That is as it may be; there is nothing improbable in the suggestion. But he retired immediately afterwards into private life (though he fought for Henry against

the rebel lords in January, 1400), and died on April 8th, 1401, at Warwick, where he was buried.[1]

His wife was Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk. His son Richard, who succeeded to the Earldom at the age of twenty, may be welcomed to our pages as the greatest of all the Beauchamps. He was not only, like his grandfather, a great soldier, but also the flower of courtesy, and, as we shall see, a patron of art and letters. He was Earl in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.

Henry IV. had succeeded to the throne with the support of the Church and the baronage. The under-

[1] His monument, figured by Dugdale as an altar-tomb with its mensa inlaid with effigies of the Earl and Countess, beneath a double canopy with a marginal inscription, was destroyed in the great Warwick fire in 1694, and only the effigies are left. These are affixed to the wall of the south transept of St. Mary's Church, and represent the Earl in much-enriched armour, with a pointed bascinet, edged with ragged staves, and necklace or camail of mail, ornamented along the lower edge with short pendants of mail. His hands are clasped in prayer, and he wears a jupon of his arms—a fess between three crosslets botonée. His feet rest on a chained bear; the mail shirt shows beneath the jupon, and is ornamented as in the camail. The sword-sheath is delicately damascened. The lady wears a frilled head-dress, and has long, curling hair; she wears a long under-mantle with her arms, a cross of mascles, and over it a cloak, with those of her husband; in the folds of her dress is a small pet dog. The ancient inscription ran: "Hic jacent dominus Thomas de Bellocampo quondam Comes Warwici qui obiit octavo die mensis Aprilis Anno Domini Millesimo cccc primo et Domina Margareta uxor ejus quondam Comitissa Warwici quæ obiit xxii mensis Januarii Anno Domini Millesimo cccc sexto quorum animabus propicietur deus amen." Above the tomb was a canopy with cusped arch, ornamental spandrels, and crested cornice with coats of arms. The modern inscription is in accordance with the bad taste of the time—that of William III.

THOMAS DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, AND HIS COUNTESS, THE LADY MARGARET.

From their effigies in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

standing with the Church was that he would persecute the Lollards; the understanding with the barons, that he would go to war with France. Though Scrope, Archbishop of York, had, as Bishop of Lichfield, been one of his sponsors, Richard de Beauchamp does not seem to have played any active part in the execution of the former policy. At first he was kept busy fighting the Welsh, from whom, in 1403, he captured the banner of Owen Glendower; but his early years were mainly consecrated to the doughty deeds of chivalry. At the coronation of Queen Jane he kept jousts on her part against all comers; and that was only the first of a long series of remarkable exploits in this department of human endeavour, esteemed so highly in the Middle Ages.

Richard de Beauchamp, at this period of his life, may be pictured as the mediæval analogue of Guy of Warwick. Adventure was as necessary to him as food and air; and when his own country failed to furnish suitable occasions of adventure, he went abroad to seek them. His *Wander-jahre* were from 1408 to 1410; and he divided his time between the devotional exercises proper to a pilgrimage and those feats of arms that formed the fashionable recreation of the period. Dugdale's account of his progress suggests a tour of the Harlequins, or Will-o'-the-wisps, or other amateur cricketers.

"Entering Lumbardy," we read, "he was met by another Herald from Sir Pandulph Malacet or Malet, with a challenge to perform certain feats of Arms with him at Verona, upon a day assigned for the

Order of the Garter; and in the presence of Sir Galeot of Mantua; whereunto he gave his assent. And as soon as he had performed his pilgrimage at Rome, returned to Verona, where he and his Chalenger

THE BIRTH OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.
From Rous's "History of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick" (Cotton MS.).

were first to joust, next to fight with Axes, afterwards with Arming Swords, and lastly, with sharp Daggers. At the day and place assigned for which exercises, came great resort of people, Sir Pandulph entring the Lists with nine Spears born before him: But the

Act of Spears being ended, they fell to it with Axes; in which encounter Sir Pandulph received a sore wound on the Shoulder, and had been utterly slain, but that Sir Galeot cried Peace."

From Verona Richard de Beauchamp went to Venice, and thence to Jerusalem, where he had an interesting experience. While he was there, "a Noble Person, called Baltredam, (the Soldans Lieutenant) hearing that he was descended from the famous Sir Guy of Warwick, whose Story they had in Books of their own Language, invited him to his Palace; and royally feasting him, presented him with three Precious Stones of great value; besides divers Cloaths of Silk and Gold, given to his servants." He came back by way of "Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Prussia, Westphalia, and some Countreys of Germany; shewing great valor in divers Tourneaments, whilest he was in those parts"; and on his return to England "was by Indenture, dated 2 Octob. 12 H. 4. retained with Henry, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King, by the name of Henry the Fifth) to serve him as well in times of Peace as War; both in this Realm, upon, and beyond the Seas, for Two hundred and fifty marks per annum, to be paid out of the Prince's Exchequer at Caermarthen, at Easter and Michaelmass, by even portions."

His first service was at Calais, where he was made Captain of the Town. A French attack was anticipated; but when the danger passed, Richard de Beauchamp "resolved to put in practice some new point of chevalry." So he "came into the Field with his Face covered, a

Plume of Ostrich Feathers upon his Helm, and his Horse trapped with the Lord Toney's Arms (one of his Ancestors,) viz. Argent a Manch Gules: Where

THE BAPTISM OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, IN THE PRESENCE OF RICHARD II.

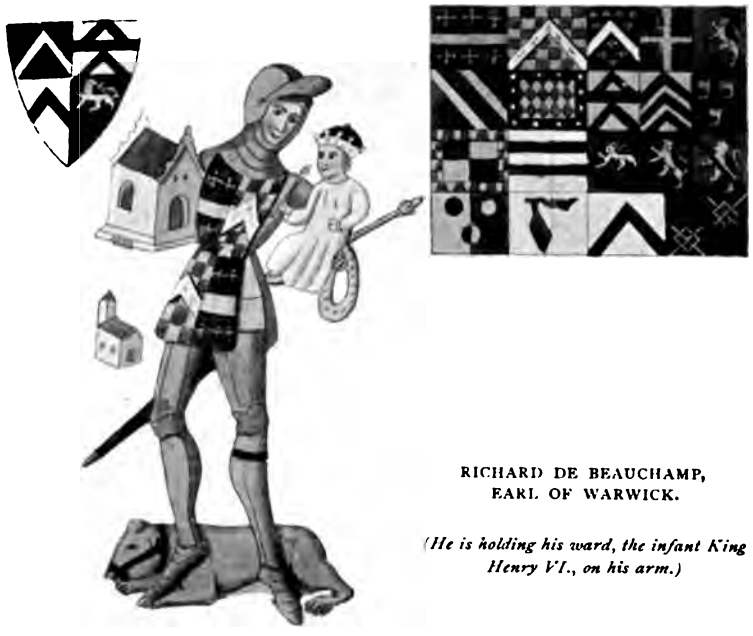
From Rous's "History of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick" (Cotton MS.).

first encountering with the Chevalier Rouge, at the third Course he unhorsed him, and so returned with close Vizor, unknown, to his Pavilion; whence he sent to that Knight a good Courser.

"The next day he came into the Field with his Vizor close, a Chaplet on his Helm, and a Plume of Ostrich Feathers aloft, his Horse trapped with the Arms of Hanslap, viz. Silver two bars Gules, where he met with the Blank Knight, with whom he encountred, smote off his Vizor thrice, broke his Besagurs, and other Harneys, and returned victoriously to his Pavilion, with all his own Habiliments safe, and as yet not known to any; from whence he sent this Blank Knight, Sir Hugh Launey, a good Courser.

"But the morrow after, viz. the last day of the justs, he came with his Face open, and his Helmet as the day before, save that the Chaplet was rich with Pearl and Precious Stones; and in his Coat of Arms, of Guy and Beauchamp, quarterly; having the Arms of Toney and Hanslap on his Trappers; and said, That as he had in his own person performed the service the two days before, so with God's grace he would the third. Whereupon encountring with Sir Collard Fines, at every stroke he bore him backward to his Horse; insomuch, as the Frenchmen saying, That he himself was bound to his Saddle; he alighted and presently got up again. But all being ended, he returned to his Pavilion, sent to Sir Collard Fines a fair Courser, feasted all the people, gave to those three Knights great rewards, and so rode to Calais with great honor."

At Constance, again, where he went as ambassador to the Council, he "was challenged by and slew a great Duke, whereon the Empress set his badge on her own shoulder, which he hearing of, had one made



RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP,
EARL OF WARWICK.

(He is holding his ward, the infant King Henry VI., on his arm.)

From the Rous Roll.

of Pearls, etc., which she received. The Emperor gave him his sword to bear, and offered him the Heart of St. George to bear to England, but he persuaded the Emperor to bring it himself, what he did, and offered it at Windsor, when he was made K.G." The German Emperor's verdict on him was: "That no Christian Prince hath such another Knight for Wisdom, Nurture and Manhood, that if all courtesie were lost, yet it might be found again in him."

So he came to be known as "the Prince of Courtesie." An interesting memorial of his life and times is furnished by his tailor's bill, which has been preserved. I give it textually :—

Warwick Castle

These be the parcels that William Seyburgh, Citizen and Painter of London, hath delivered in the Moneth of July, the Fifteenth year of the Reign of King Henry the Sixth, to John Ray, Tailor, of the same City; for the use and stuff of my Lord of Warwick.

Item, Four hundred Pencils beat with the Ragged-staff of Silver, price the peece five pence = £8 6 0

Item, for the Painting of two Pavys for my Lord, the one with a Griffin, standing on my Lords colours, Red, White and Russet, price of the Pavys 6s 8d

Item, For the other Pavys Painted with Black and a Raggedstaff beat with Silver occupying all the Field, price 3s 4d

Item, One Coat for my Lords Body, beat with fine Gold £1 10 0

Item, Two Coats for Heralds, beat with Demmy Gold: price the piece 20/- = £2 0 0

Item, Four Banners for Trumpets, beat with Demmy Gold, price the peece 13s 4d

Item, Four Spear-Shafts of Red, Price the peece 1/- = 4s 0d

Item, One great Burdon, Painted with Red 1s 2d

Item, Another Burdon, written with my Lords colours, Red, White, and Russet 2s 0d

Item, For a Great Streamer of a Ship of forty yards in length and eight yards in breadth, with a great Bear and Griffin, holding a Raggedstaff, poudred full of Raggedstaffs and for a great Cross of St. George, for the Limming and Portraying £1 6 8

Item, a Gyton for the Ship of eight yards long,

Drawn by S. Harding from a print in the British Museum, 1793.

RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

powdered full of Raggedstaffs, for the Limming and Workmanship £1 2 0

Item, For eighteen great Standards entertailed with the Raggedstaff, price the peece 8^d = 12^s 0^d

Item, Eighteen Standards of Worsted, entertailed with the Bear and a Chain, price the peece 1/- = 18^s 0^d

Item, Sixteen other Standards of Worsted, entertailed with the Raggedstaff, price the peece 1/- = 5^s 4^d

Item, Three Penons of Satten, entertailed with Raggedstaffs, price the peece 2/- = 6^s 0^d

Item, for the Coat-Armor, beat for George, by the Commandment of my Lord 6^s 8^d

So much for Richard de Beauchamp's feats of chivalry. His feats of arms may be related in another chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Richard de Beauchamp in the French War—The Towns he took—His Advice to Poet Lydgate—Guardian of Henry VI.—The Ousting of the English from France—Richard de Beauchamp's Part in the Resistance—His Death in Normandy.

IT has been mentioned that Richard de Beauchamp fought in Wales and captured the banner of Owen Glendower. He was also instrumental in putting down an insurrection in Shropshire. But his chief military exploits were in the long war which Henry V. waged against the French.

It was a thoroughly unjust and iniquitous war. Henry's claim to the French throne differed from that of Edward III. in that no possible quibble could make it appear valid. If any Englishman had a good title, the claims of the House of Mortimer were obviously prior to those of the House of Lancaster. But English King and English barons were alike "spoiling for a fight," and French internal dissensions offered a fair prospect of success. So the campaign began, of which the best-known landmarks are the battle of Agincourt and the Peace of Troyes.

Richard de Beauchamp does not seem to have been present at the battle of Agincourt; but, after Agincourt, his name is of constant occurrence in the chronicles. At Calais he "received with due rever-

THE SECOND SEAL OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

ence" the Emperor Sigismund. He was sent in 1416—*præstantissimus vir Comes Varvicensis* he is called—to relieve Harfleur. At the siege of Caen "the Earl of Warwick and Sir John Gray were on the King's right hand." He captured Caudebec, and Mont Saint Michel, and Domfront, and Melun. He was sent on an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, and treacherously ambuscaded by the way. He marched to the relief of Cosne, which the Dauphin was beleaguering. He was made Captain of Beauvais; and he was at the siege of Rouen.

This, though it is hardly so much as mentioned in the school-books, was one of the most memorable sieges in history. It lasted for six months. The garrison, in order that they might resist the longer, turned twelve thousand of the country folk who had taken refuge with them outside the walls to starve. It was no part of the policy of Henry V. to feed them. "War," he said, "has three handmaidens ever waiting on her, Fire, Blood, and Famine, and I have chosen the meekest maid of the three." So he held the city in his iron grip until the hard

terms which he offered—which included the execution of the commander, Alan Blanchard—were accepted.

From a print published in 1812.

RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, K.G., EARL OF WARWICK, REGENT OF FRANCE, GOVERNOR OF NORMANDY, AND CAPTAIN OF CALAIS.

Then it was Richard de Beauchamp who received the capitulation.

We meet him once again at the time of the Peace of Troyes, whereby Henry received the hand of Katharine, and was recognised as the French heir-apparent. It was at his instance that Lydgate, the poet, wrote his metrical account of the English claims to the French throne. The fact is set forth in the poem :—

I moved was shortly in sentement
By precept first and commaundement
Of the nobly prince and manly man,
Which is so knyghtly and so moche can,
My lord of Warrewyk, so prudent and wise,
Being present that tyme at Parys,
Whanne he was then repairede agein
From seint Juliane of Mauns, out of Mayne,
Resorted home, as folks telle conne,
From the castelle that he had wonne
Thurgh his knyghthode and his hy noblesse,
And thurgh his wysdom and his hy prowesse.
Of which my lorde that I spake of byforne,
My lord of Warrewyk, ful worthi of renoun,
Of high prudence and discrecioun,
Touching the writyng of this Calot clerk,
Draw into Frenssh by his besy werk,
Gaf me precept in conclusioun
To make thereof a playne translacioun
In Englissh tong, and bade me hit translate.

So stout a soldier could hardly have failed to be the valued and trusted friend of such a king as Henry V. The King, in fact, visited him at Warwick, and went to see Guy's Cliff, "whether out of respect to the memory of the famous Guy or to its situation" Dugdale cannot say, and "did determine to have

formed a chantry[1] here for 2 Priests, had he not been by death prevented." On his death-bed, moreover, he sent for Richard de Beauchamp, and gave his young son into his care. "It is my wish, fair cousin of Warwick," he said, "that you be his master. Be very gentle with him and guide him and instruct in the condition of life to which he belongs. For I could make no better provision for him."

So Richard de Beauchamp began the new reign with the boy King for his ward, though the formal title of Tutor and Governor was not conferred upon

[1] This was subsequently done by Richard de Beauchamp, as is recorded in Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire": "After which the before specified Ric. Beauchamp, E. of Warw. bearing a great devotion to the place, whereupon then stood nothing but a small Chapel, and a Cottage in which the Heremite dwelt, in 1. H. 6. obtained license to do the like, sc. for 2. Priests, which should sing Mass, in the Chapel there daily, for the good estate of him the said Earl and his wife, during their lives; and afterwards for the health of their souls, and the souls of all their parents, friends, with all the faithfull deceased. Of which Chantry Will. Berkswell (afterwards Dean of the Collegiat Church in Warw.) and one John Berington, were the first Priests; for whose maintenance, and their successors, the said E. in 9. H. 6. had license to grant the mannour of Ashorne in this County, with one mess. one carucat of land, and Cxvii s. x d. ob. yearly rent lying in Whitnash and Wellesburne. And because he thought not that enough, by his last Will and Testament he ordained, that in all hast after his decease, the remnant of what he had designed for his Chantry Priests there, should by his Executors be delivered, and made sure to them: and that the Chapel there, with the other buildings, should be new built, as he the said Earl had devised, for the wholsom and convenient dwelling of those Priests. The costs of all which, with the consecration of the two Altars therein, as appeareth by the accounts of the said Executors, from the 28. to the 37. H. 6. amounted unto Clxxxiv l. v d. ob. Then did Earl Richard, in memory of the warlike Guy, erect that large Statue, there yet to be seen on the south side within that Chapel, the Figure whereof I have here exprest: and having raised a roof over the adjacent Springs, walled them with stone."

him until the year 1428. We find him, at this period, holding various offices both at home and abroad. He was appointed Captain and Lieut.-General "for the

RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, CROSSING THE CHANNEL WITH HIS LADY AND HIS SON.

From Rous's "History of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick" (Cotton MS.).

Field" in Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and the Marches of Bretagne, March 14th, 1426; Joint Guardian of the Truce with Scotland, May 26th, 1426; Captain of the Town and Marches of Meaux-en-Brie,

November 1st, 1430; Ranger of Wichwood Forest, November 21st, 1433; Joint Commissioner to treat with France, April 7th, 1437; Constable of Bristol, and Warden of the Forests of Kingswood and Filwood and the Forest and Park of Gillingham, July 11th, 1437; Lieut.-General and Governor of France and Normandy, July 16th, 1437.

He bore Henry VI. to church for his coronation, and a ballad written on that occasion shows the esteem in which he was held:—

> Six erles in their estate shewed them alle;
> And the 5 poortis beryng up the palle.
> Gracious Werwik, God hym contynue,
> Beryng up his trayne in peece and vue.

But the times were evil, and Richard de Beauchamp's later years can hardly have been happy. Internal disorders were paving the way for the internecine strife of the Wars of the Roses. Parliament was degenerating into a bear-garden. The nominees and retainers of the rival barons actually came to blows there. One Parliament—that of 1426—has gone down to history as the Parliament of Bats or Bludgeons, because, when the carrying of arms was forbidden, the representatives of the people came to legislate with cudgels in their hands. When the cudgels were prohibited, they brought stones and lumps of lead, concealed in the folds of their garments.

Such sights and such stories must surely have saddened a knight so chivalrous as Richard de

Beauchamp. But the great sorrow of his declining life must have been the turning of the tide in the great Hundred Years' War with France.

Many causes combined to make the unfortunate issue of that war inevitable. It was, as we have seen, a most unrighteous war. The people of England had no particular interest in it. Few of them fought in it; the rest paid taxes to support foreign mercenaries. Those who did fight—the barons and their retainers—fought, not for patriotism, but for plunder. When they won victories, they were less anxious to follow them up than to get their plunder safely home, and place their captives in security, so that they might be held to ransom. In such a war, when once the strong personality and brilliant generalship of Henry V. was removed, the *débâcle* could only be a question of time.

It did not come at once. The Duke of Bedford, who succeeded to the command, was hardly less competent a soldier, and hardly less adroit a diplomatist, than King Henry himself. His victory at Verneuil was scarcely less complete than that of Agincourt. But his ranks were depleted, and he had no proper support from England. Joan of Arc arose, like a portent, in the obscure village of Domrémy, in Lorraine. She had seen visions and heard voices. Michael the archangel had appeared to her, telling her that there was "pity" in heaven for the sorrows of the fair land of France. "The Maid prays and requires you," she wrote to Bedford, "to work no

Drawn and engraved by George Vertue from an old picture at Kensington Palace.

KING HENRY V.

(In whose reign Richard de Beauchamp performed his most famous deeds, and who appointed him "guardian" of his son, King Henry VI.)

more destruction in France, but to come in her company to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Turk." And when Bedford rejected this strange proposal of alliance, she marched at the head of an army, and raised the siege of Orleans, and caused Charles VII. to be crowned at Rheims. "O gentle King," she there said to him, "the pleasure of God is done."

Even so, however, the English cause was not yet lost. The new English King was pompously crowned at Paris, and held his court at Rouen for a year, and actually founded a university at Caen. There seemed to be a chance of retaining Normandy, though the rest of the French possessions must be abandoned. In defensive as in offensive war great feats of arms were done by English soldiers. Lord Talbot's fording of the Somme, with the waters up to his chin, to relieve Crotoy, is one great case in point. But the end was coming, though it came slowly. There was a day when Rouen rose in revolt against its garrison, and even Cherbourg fell, and the fortresses of Guienne surrendered, and a peace had to be agreed to whereby Calais alone of the French towns remained in English hands.

Of the Earl of Warwick the chronicles of the time give us a good many glimpses. In 1427 we find him besieging the town and castle of Montargis with about three thousand men. The account of the operations may be summarised from de Waurin.

They surrounded the town, and fortified their camps, building bridges over the river for intercom-

munication. The Earl of Warwick had his quarters in an abbey outside the town. They besieged and battered the town with their engines for about two

THE DEATH OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

From Rous's "History of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick" (Cotton MS.).

months, vigorously opposed by the besieged; they sent for help to King Charles, who, after delay, dispatched sixteen hundred men with food, etc. They came secretly upon the English army, led by certain

of the garrison, who had made their way out, and attacking them on two sides, completely routed them; many of the English were killed and drowned, by the people in the town stopping the water until it was high enough to flow right over the English bridges. One of the bridges broke under the weight of people pressing in full retreat to the Earl of Warwick's quarters. The Earl gathered his men together as quickly as he could (he had already lost from ten to twelve hundred men in killed and wounded), and drew them up on a hill; but the French, who were much worn out, retired into the town, and during the night the Earl marched off, some of the English going to the castle of Landon, some to Nemours and elsewhere. The Earl rejoined the regent in Paris.

In 1428, as we gather from the same source, it was decided that the Earl of Warwick should besiege Pontorson, and the Earl of Suffolk should invade Brittany. Their armies were well provided with all necessaries. The Earl of Warwick made the attack in the usual way, first dragging up his engines before the guns and bombards, which brought the town to such a state that they were forced to agree to surrender, provided they did not receive succours by a certain date. These did not arrive, and the fortress was delivered to the English, who demolished it, and then returned into garrisons on the frontiers.

Other operations are reported in less detail. In 1433 Richard de Beauchamp was in London, where the ambassadors of Huc de Lannoi waited on him:

From a drawing by G. Cattermole, 1845.

THE INTERIOR OF THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

"he received them graciously, though a little more gravely than before." In 1435 his name appears first in a list of the retinue of the Duke of Bedford, where he is described as "captain of the city of Meaulx in Brie, lieutenant of the field in the absence of the Regent." He returned home, but sailed again on August 29th, 1437, and there, says Stow's Chronicle :—

"After the regaining of the towne of Ponthoise, Richard Beauchamp, Earle of Warwike, Lieutenant General of France, and of the Dutchy of Normandy, dyed in the Castle of Roan in Normandy, on the last of April, the yeere of his age 58. And on the fourth of October next following his corpes was honorably conveied, as well by water as by land, from Roan in Normandy to Warwike in England, and was laid with full solemnities in a faire chest made of stone in the West door of the Colledge of our Ladies Church, by his noble ancestors, till a chappell by him devised in his life were made, which chappell founded on the rocke, and all the members thereof, his executors did fully make and apparell, by the authoritie of his said last will and testament: and thereafter by the said authority they did translate the said body into the vault above sayd, where he is intoombed right princely and portured [? portrayed] with an image armed of copper and gilt, like a chariot."

In the centre of the Lady Chapel of St. Mary's, Warwick, stands the beautiful monument of its founder,

Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick. The high tomb, richly panelled, contains some fine statuettes of latten gilt: namely, at the head, Henry Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and the Lady Cecilia his Countess; on the south, Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset, Humphrey Stafford Earl of Buckingham, John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Richard Neville Earl of Warwick; on the east, George Neville Lord Latimer and Elizabeth his Lady; on the north, Alice Countess of Warwick, Eleanor Duchess of Somerset, Anne Duchess of Buckingham, Margaret Countess of Shrewsbury, Anne Countess

From a drawing by Edward Blore, 1825

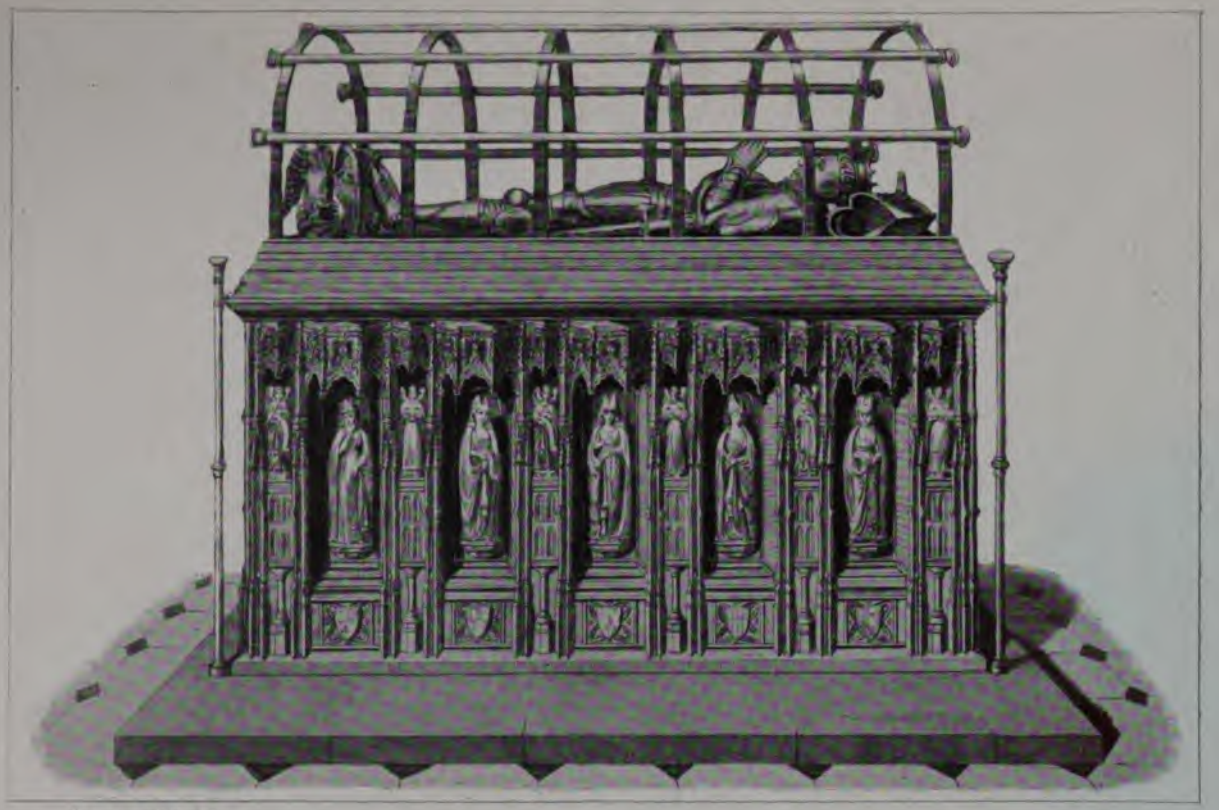
THE EFFIGY OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP. *From his tomb in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.*

of Warwick. Between these are smaller statuettes of angels holding scrolls inscribed with texts. Upon a massive slab of marble lies the great effigy of "fine latten," representing the Earl in complete plate-armour, his head bare, resting upon a tilting-helmet with his crest. Issuant from a crest coronet are a swan's head and neck; at his feet are a "griffon and a bear mussled," and about the margin two fillets of brass inlaid with this inscription: "Preieth devoutley for thee sowel whom God assoille of one of the moost worshipfull knightes in his dayes of manhode and coursing, Richard Beauchamp late Earle of Warrewik, lord Despencer of Bergevenny and of many other grete lordships." The pall which originally covered the tomb and hung upon the brazen hearse has long since perished.

So we take our leave of Richard de Beauchamp[1] with a real regret. He is the first Earl of Warwick whose personality it has been possible to grasp clearly; and we find it a dashing and altogether an attractive personality. He was a soldier, not a politician—a better man by far than some of those whose names loom larger in the histories—a typical knight of the departed age of chivalry.

He was twice married: first, to a grand-daughter of Warrine de Lisle, who was only seven at the time of her wedding, and died in 1422; secondly, by special dispensation, to Isabella, widow of his cousin, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, and apparently *suo*

[1] His will—a striking document, reflecting the character of the man—together with that of his wife, is given in an appendix.



From an old print.

THE MONUMENT OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

jure Baroness Burghersh, by whom he had a son Henry, who succeeded to the Earldom.

By comparison with his father, Henry de Beauchamp is but a shadowy and unsubstantial figure, though apparently a young man of amiable and engaging disposition. There are one or two references to his appearance in the French war. He is mentioned as a leader of an expedition to France in 1431; but as he was then but seven years of age, he can only have been the leader in a titular and complimentary sense. It is also recorded that he "went a little way out of London to meet the embassy" of Comte de Vendôme in 1445, and that in the same year the Archbishop of Rheims lodged in his house. He was also in high favour with Henry VI., who loaded him with honours, making him premier Earl, and Duke, and Privy Councillor, and King of the Isle of Wight, and Constable of St. Briavel's Castle, and Lord of the Forest of Dean, and Lord of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, and High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Warden of the Forest of West Brere, and Ranger of Wichwood Forest, and Lieutenant-General in the Duchy of Aquitaine, and Captain of the Forces in the States of the Church, and J.P. for the Counties of Warwick, Gloucester, and Northampton.

He did not live long, however, in the enjoyment of these distinctions, but died at the early age of twenty-two, and was buried, at his desire, in the middle of the choir of Tewkesbury Abbey, between

the stalls. We have some evidence of his worth and amiability in the fact that his popularity was so great that the abbot arranged for his burial to take place at night, to avoid the inconvenience and possible damage which might arise from the crowds of people gathered to witness the ceremony.

THE TOMB OF ISABELLA, SECOND WIFE OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

In Tewkesbury Abbey.

His benefactions to the abbey were considerable, including the patronage of the Church and Priory of St. Mary Magdalen, at Goldcliffe, Monmouthshire, the Church of Sherston, and the whole of the vestments which he wore about his person. Rous describes him as "a seemlie sort of person."

He married Lady Cecilia Neville, daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, who, after his death, contracted a second marriage with John, Earl of Worcester, known as Tiptoft, who was, as we shall see, beheaded on October 18th, 1470. She bore her first husband in 1444 one child, Anne, who succeeded as Countess of Warwick, *suo jure*, in 1446, but died only three years later. The Earldom then lapsed to the Crown, the next of kin being her four aunts, daughters of her grandfather, Earl Richard. One of these, another Anne, born in 1427, was created Countess of Warwick on July 23rd, 1449. She had been married, since 1439, to Richard Neville, son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, known to history as the King-maker.

HENRY BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK.

He succeeded, according to the doctrine of the exclusion of the half-blood, to all

the vast estates of the Earldom of Warwick, which included the Castles of Warwick, Worcester, Elmley, Abergavenny, Neath, etc., and the Lordships of Gower and Barnard Castle, to which, after his father's death in 1460, the great Neville estates of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire were added, and on March 2nd, 1450, the former creation was cancelled, and he was created Earl and she Countess of Warwick each for life, with all the privileges granted by the preceding patent, with remainder after death of both of the dignity to the heirs of the body of the said Anne, and in case she should die without issue then to Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury.

THE SEAL OF JOHANNA DE BEAUCHAMP, LADY BERGEVENNY.

Thus is the King-maker first brought upon the scene. But the account of so illustrious a man cannot, with propriety, be begun at the end of a chapter.

From a drawing by S. Harding.

KING HENRY VI.,

Whom Warwick the King-maker deposed from the throne and then restored.

BOOK III

THE HOUSE OF NEVILLE AND THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET

CHAPTER I

The House of Neville—Its Wealthy Marriages—Its Alliance with the House of Beauchamp—Richard Neville becomes Earl of Warwick—The Condition of England during his Minority—Jack Cade's Rebellion—The Rebellion of the Duke of York—The First Battle of St. Albans—The Redistribution of Offices—Warwick's Exploits as Captain of Calais and Captain to guard the Sea.

BEFORE proceeding to the relation of the doings of Richard Neville, known to history as Warwick the King-maker, we shall do well to pause and trace the rise of the great family of which he was the most illustrious of many illustrious representatives.

The founder of the family was Robert Fitz-Maldred, Lord of Raby, who, in the reign of John, took to wife Isabella de Neville, heiress of Geoffrey de Neville of Brancepeth. His son Geoffrey, together with his mother's lands in the county of Durham, took his mother's name, dropping that of Fitz-Maldred. Members of the family fought against Henry III. with Simon de Montfort, and also against the Scots. It was to one of them that the famous battle-field of

Neville's Cross owed its name. They were collectively distinguished for begetting large families and arranging advantageous marriages for their children. Robert Neville's marriage with Ida Mitford, in the reign of Henry III., added lands in Northumberland to those in Durham. His son Robert, by his marriage with Mary of Middleham, acquired Middleham Castle and the manors thereupon depending, which stretched for twelve miles along the River Ure, in Yorkshire. His heir, Ralph, through his wife Euphemia of Clavering, got land in Essex, and also at Warkworth, on the Northumbrian coast. He had a son, John, who allied himself first with a younger daughter of the House of Percy, and secondly with Elizabeth Latimer, who was heiress to sundry properties in Bedfordshire and Bucks.

The Nevilles had thus become the lords of more than seventy manors, scattered over six counties. Ralph Neville could raise as many as six hundred men to serve in Brittany, and more than eighteen hundred to serve against the Scots. His claim to preferment was good. After the startling *coup d'état* of 1397, which, as we have seen, resulted so unpleasantly for Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Richard II. gave him the title of the Earl of Westmoreland. Nevertheless, he was not loyal to his sovereign. His marriage with a natural daughter of the great John of Gaunt by Katherine Swinford disposed him to favour the House of Lancaster. He joined Henry of Bolingbroke when he landed at

Ravenspur only two years later, and was further rewarded when Henry of Bolingbroke became King Henry IV. Not only did he bear the royal sceptre at Henry's coronation, but he also took the office of Earl Marshal, vacated through the exile of the Duke

From the Rous Roll.

RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, THE KING-MAKER.

of Norfolk. He rendered further services to the usurper by assisting in the suppression of the rebellions of the Percys in 1403, and of Scrope, Mowbray, and Northumberland in 1405.

In the succeeding reign he was notable for his opposition to the French war. If the King must fight,

he said, let him fight the Scotch rather than the French. There was more to be gained from such a venture, and it would be easier to conduct it to a successful issue. And he clinched his argument by quoting the popular rhyme :—

> He that wolde France win,
> Must with Scotland first begin.

His advice, as we know, was rejected, and the war took place. Students who get their history from Shakespeare believe that he took part in it. He is the "cousin Westmoreland" who sighs for "one ten thousand of those men in England, Who do no work to-day," and provokes the great retort, "The fewer men, the greater share of honour." But this is one of Shakespeare's many historical mistakes. On the day of Agincourt, Earl Ralph of Westmoreland was at Carlisle, with Earl Scrope and the Baron of Greystock, acting as Warden of the Scottish Marches. His five sons, however—John, Ralph, Richard, William, and George—were in France with the King; and John, his heir, was made Governor of Verneuil, and held the trenches opposite the Porte de Normandie during the famous siege of Rouen, already mentioned in our pages. The Earl himself, after being appointed a member of the Privy Council nominated to govern during the minority of Henry VI., died, at the age of sixty-two, on October 21st, 1425.

He had been twice married—first to Margaret of Stafford, and secondly to Joan of Beaufort—and had

a family remarkable even in the annals of that prolific house. He had had twenty-three children in all —nine by his first and fourteen by his second wife— and twenty-two of them survived him.

Most of them had married well. The Earl's sons-in-law included Richard, Duke of York; John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Among his sons' wives were the heiresses of Ferrers, Salisbury, Falconbridge, and Abergavenny. His son Robert, who entered the Church, was made Bishop of Salisbury at twenty-four, and at thirty-four Bishop of Durham. One of the Parliaments summoned in the reign of Henry VI. contained five of his sons-in-law, three of his sons, and one of his grandsons[1]—a great and powerful family group, when we remember that the largest number of peers ever assembled in Parliament in that reign was thirty-five.

Let us narrow the scope of our interests, however, and follow the fortunes of the son who most immediately concerns us—Richard, the eldest son of the marriage with Joan of Beaufort.

Richard Neville had served in the French wars with his brother John, and with his father on the Scottish Border. When he came of age in 1420, he was knighted and associated with his father as Warden

[1] The sons-in-law were the Dukes of York, Norfolk, and Buckingham, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Dacre; the sons were Richard of Salisbury, William of Falconbridge, and George of Latimer; the grandson was Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland.

of the Western Marches. He escorted the Scottish King, James I., to the frontier on his release from captivity in England, and he held the honourable office of Carver at the banquet given in honour of the coronation of Queen Katherine—a banquet, says a chronicler, so magnificent that "the like had never been seen since the time of that noble Knight Arthur, King of the English and Bretons." His interest, for the purpose of this narrative, however, only begins with his marriage, in 1425, to Alice, the only child of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.

From his father, who died in the same year, he did not inherit a great deal—only, as we gather from the will, "two chargers, twelve dishes, and a great ewer and basin of silver, a bed of Arras, with red, white, and green hangings, and four untrained horses, the best that should be found in the stable." Nor did his wife's portion amount to very much. The Montacutes had been more loyal to Richard II. than Ralph Neville, and had lost their estates through their loyalty, and had only had a portion of their inheritance restored to them. It was not, therefore, till the death of his mother and the lapse of her jointure that his property made him a power in the land.

His father-in-law fell in the siege of Orleans—half of his face torn away by a stone-shot—in 1428. This brought him the title of Earl of Salisbury, bestowed in 1429, and property in Wiltshire and Hampshire,

including the Castles of Christchurch and Trowbridge.[1] A little later he was engaged in a private war—"which things," says a contemporary report to the Lord Chancellor, "are greatly against the estate and weal and peace of this Royaume of England"—with his half-brother, Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, who wanted to take his mother's estates away from her. The Countess died, and the Earl of Salisbury got the estates in 1440.

He pursued the traditional policy of aggrandising the family by means of matrimonial alliances. One of his closest friends was Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose fortunes we have related in an earlier chapter; and the two earls resolved to set the seal upon their friendship by a double marriage. Henry of Warwick, therefore, was married, as we have already seen, to Salisbury's daughter, Cecily Neville, and Warwick's daughter, Anne Beauchamp, was married to Salisbury's son Richard; while, to complete the connection, Edward Neville, Salisbury's younger brother, married Warwick's step-daughter, Elizabeth, heiress of Abergavenny.

Then death laid its cold hand prematurely on the Beauchamps. Henry de Beauchamp, the "seemlie sort of person," died in 1446, at the age of twenty-two. His little daughter died in 1449, at the age of seven. The inheritance devolved upon Henry's aunt, Anne, the wife of Richard Neville, the future King-maker,

[1] The property also included some manors in Berkshire, Dorset, and Somerset.

who, in the right of his wife, became "Earl of Warwick, Newburgh, and Aumarle, Premier Earl of England, Baron of Elmley and Hanslape, and Lord of Glamorgan and Morgannoc."

There was now no greater landowner in the country. The new Earl possessed estates in almost all parts of the kingdom. He had the Despencer holding in South Wales and Herefordshire, with the Castles of Cardiff, Neath, Caerphilly, Llantrussant, Seyntweonard, Ewyas-Lacy, Castle-Dinas, Snodhill, Whitchurch, and Maud's Castle, and as many as fifty manors; the Despencer estates in Gloucestershire, including the manors of Tewkesbury, Sodbury, Fairford, Whittington, Chedworth, Wichwar, and Lidney; the manors of Upton-on-Severn, Hanley Castle, and Bewdley, with the Castle of Elmley and twenty-four estates of less importance in Worcestershire; nine manors, including Tamworth, in Warwickshire; five manors and the Forest of Wychwood in Oxfordshire; seven manors and the seat of Hanslape in Buckinghamshire; forty-eight other manors in Kent, Hampshire, Sussex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Northampton, Stafford, Cambridge, Rutland, and Nottingham; and Barnard's Castle, on the Tees.[1]

A man so greatly endowed, provided that he were a great man, was clearly cast for a great part. For

[1] He was also entitled to various knights' fees, advowsons, chantries, town tenements, etc., etc., for which the curious may be referred to the Escheats Roll.

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE SERVANTS' HALL, WARWICK CASTLE.

the times were not such that any great man's light was likely to remain for long hidden under a bushel.

Let us turn, then, to examine the character of the times in which Warwick the King-maker came into his immense inheritance.

The years in which he was growing to manhood were the years in which the King of England was gradually losing his domains in France. The siege of Orleans was in progress when he was born. Rouen capitulated in the year in which he came of age. How and where he spent his youth cannot be discovered, though it may be presumed that much of it was passed in London, at his father's house in the "tenement called the Harbour in the Ward of Dowgate." The times were stormy, as we have seen. They were the times of the free fights, already referred to, in the House of Parliament, and of private wars between antagonistic barons. In the private war between the King-maker's father and his step-brother of Westmoreland, there were "great routs and companies upon the field," which did "all manner of great offences as well in slaughter and destruction of the King's lieges as otherwise."

And the stormy times were daily becoming stormier. The disastrous conclusion of the French war brought outbursts of popular indignation and violence in its train. The people did not formally demand victims, but they chose them, laid hands on them, and lynched them. Mutinous sailors at Portsmouth murdered the Bishop of Chichester, who had negotiated the cession of Anjou. Suffolk was impeached, and, even though the King

pardoned him, thought it wiser to seek safety in flight. Some London ships waylaid him in the Channel, and he was summarily and informally tried and executed by the captain of one of them. On the heels of these events followed the famous insurrection of Jack Cade.

Cade and his rebels, be it noted, were not a mere mob, as the popular histories represent, but really responsible insurgents. The leader had fought in the French wars; he had esquires and gentlemen, as well as peasants, among his followers; and he had a definite programme of demands. He asked for reforms, and a change of ministry, and public economy, and freedom of election; and he nearly succeeded in getting what he asked for. When he had defeated the royal forces at Sevenoaks and executed Lord Say, who of all the ministers was the most unpopular, the Council received the "Complaint of the Commoner of Kent," and the King gave all the rebels a free pardon. Cade himself, however, was treacherously pursued and slain, after his forces were dispersed, and the promise of reformation was ignored. A stronger leader was needed to take in hand the task of checking misgovernment. Such a leader was in due course forthcoming in the person of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

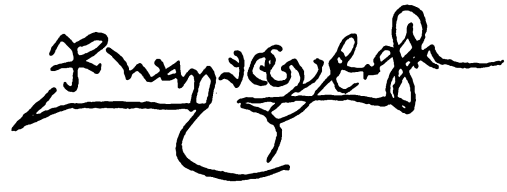
The name of the Duke of York had been used, almost certainly without his authority, in Cade's proclamations. He now, however, returned from Ireland and placed himself definitely at the head of the opposition to the government of Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. But the constitutional machinery for opposing the royal

advisers was not so well developed in those days as in ours. A leader of opposition generally had to back his opinion with his sword, and the Duke of York before long discovered that necessity. For a time, when the King was mad and childless and public opinion looked to him as the probable successor to the throne, he got his way. He ruled as Lord Protector, locked Somerset up in the Tower, made Salisbury Chancellor, and Warwick a Privy Councillor.

Presently, however, the Queen became a mother, and the King recovered his reason. He immediately released the Duke of Somerset, dismissed the Duke of York, and called a Council, which convoked a Parliament at Leicester "for the purpose of providing for the safety of the King's person against his enemies." The Duke of York not unnaturally surmised that he was aimed at, and took time by the forelock. He called out his men and marched south. With him were the Earl of Salisbury and the King-maker that was to be—the only peers, except Lord Clinton, in his host. With the King, on the other hand, were many peers: the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Devon, Stafford, Wiltshire, and Dorset; and Lords Clifford, Dudley, Berners, and Roos.

The clash of arms took place at St. Albans. The King's men held the town, and the Duke of York's men stormed it. The Paston Letters show that the honours of the day fell chiefly to the Earl of Warwick Lord Clifford "kept the barriers so strongly that the

Duke might not in anywise, for all the power he had, break into the streets." But Warwick found an unexpected way in through gardens and the back doors of houses. He came "between the sign of the Chequer and the sign of the Key, blowing up his trumpets and shouting with a great voice, A Warwick! A Warwick!" The Lancastrians were taken in the rear. The retainers fled, and the knights and nobles were overborne. Somerset was killed, as were also the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford. The Duke of Buckingham, with an arrow in his face, took sanctuary in an abbey. The King himself was wounded; and so were Lord Dudley (the ancestor of a future Earl of Warwick) and the Earls of Stafford and Dorset. The road to London was open to the rebels.



THE SIGNATURE OF RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, THE KING-MAKER.

They marched there, though not yet for king-making purposes. For the time being they were contented with a redistribution of offices to their advantage. The Duke of York became Constable; Lord Bourchier, Treasurer; the Earl of Salisbury, Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster. To Warwick, who, be it remembered, was only five-and-twenty years of age, fell Somerset's office—the Captaincy of Calais. It was in this post, and that of "Captain to Guard the Sea,"

which he held from October, 1457, to September, 1459, that he proved himself a born leader of men.

He was, as we shall see, the only Yorkist leader whom the Lancastrians, when they began to lift up their heads again, were satisfied to leave to his own devices—whether because they liked the way he did his work, or because they felt safer when he was on the other side of the Channel. There is, at any rate, no question that he did his work very well.

It was a time of wars and rumours of wars. In June, 1456, "men said that the siege should come to Calais, for much people had crossed the waters of Somme, and great navies were on the sea." Another attack was threatened in 1457: "So he had the folks of Canterbury and Sandwich before him, and thanked them for their good hearts in victualling of Calais, and prayed them for continuance therein." But Warwick raised the strength of his troops, and raided Picardy, and took Etaples, and captured a fleet of wine-ships, and marched against the Burgundians at Gravelines and Saint Omer, and compelled them to agree not only to a peace, but to a commercial treaty.

On the high seas, too, he was equally successful, though less scrupulous in the choice of enemies. An account of his first sea-fight is given in a letter of the period.

"On Trinity Sunday (May 28th) in the morning," writes John Jernyngan, "came tidings unto my Lord of Warwick that there were twenty-eight sail of Spaniards on the sea, whereof sixteen were great ships

of forecastle; and then my Lord went and manned five ships of forecastle and three carvells and four pinnaces, and on the Monday we met together before Calais at four of the clock in the morning, and fought

AN EFFIGY IN ARMOUR OF THE KING-MAKER RIDING ON AN ARMOURED STEED.

together till ten. And there we took six of their ships, and they slew of our men about fourscore and hurt two hundred of us right sore. And we slew of them about twelvescore, and hurt five hundred of them. It happened that at the first boarding of them we

took a ship of three hundred tons, and I was left therein and twenty-three men with me. And they fought so sore that our men were fain to leave them. Then came they and boarded the ship that I was in, and there was I taken, and was prisoner with them six hours, and was delivered again in return for their men that were taken at the first. As men say, there has not been so great a battle upon the sea these forty winters. And, to say sooth, we were well and truly beaten. So my Lord has sent for more ships, and is like to fight them again in haste."

Other dashing naval exploits stand to his credit. In 1458 he attacked "three great Genoeses Carracks and two Spaniards," and took so many prisoners that the prisons of Calais would hardly hold them, and so much booty that prices fell fifty per cent. in the Kent and Calais markets. He also fell upon a fleet from Lübeck, and captured five Hanseatic vessels. They called him a pirate on the Continent—perhaps justifiably, seeing that England was not at that time at war with either Genoa or the Hanseatic League. But, however that may be, Calais was a good school of arms for him. It was there that he acquired not only the military skill, but also the military force that he was to use so signally in the coming civil war. His army was then the only standing force, properly drilled, equipped, and disciplined, in the kingdom.

CHAPTER II

Queen Margaret's Counter-revolution—The Rout of Ludford—Warwick at Calais—His Raid on Sandwich—The Battle of Northampton—The Battle of Wakefield—The Second Battle of St. Albans—The Battle of Towton—Flight of King Henry and Queen Margaret.

WHILE Warwick was guarding Calais and the seas, a counter-revolution was gradually being brought about at home. As early as 1456 the victorious Yorkists were beginning to feel insecure. A letter from John Bocking to Sir John Fastolf, printed in the Paston Letters, indicates that a *coup d'état* was in the air. Warwick was then in England, so we read that ". . . this day my lords York and Warwick come to the Parliament in a good array, to the number of 300 men, all jakkid [*i.e.* in coats of mail] and in brigantiens, and no lord else, whereof many men marvelled. It was said on Saturday my lord should have been discharged this same day. And this day was said, but if he had come strong, he should have been 'distrussid'; and no man knoweth or can say that any proof may be had by whom, for men think verily there is no man able to take any such enterprize."

It was a false alarm; but Queen Margaret, whose strong character generally got her her way with the King, managed to weed out the Yorkists from the Royal Council, and to replace them by such good

Lancastrians as Shrewsbury, Wiltshire, Beaumont, and Exeter, and Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. The Yorkists did not move; and the King, with that amiable desire for peace which distinguished him throughout his troubled reign, arranged the great ceremony of reconciliation between the hostile barons, known as the "Loveday Procession." The enemies who had fought at the first battle of St. Albans walked hand in hand to the Cathedral of St. Paul—Salisbury hand in hand with the son of the slain Duke of Somerset, and Warwick hand in hand with Exeter. It was the delusive calm before the storm.

The Queen pursued her plans without the least regard to the reconciliation. There was indeed a plot immediately after it, with which she was certainly concerned, to murder Warwick, who withdrew to Calais, and threw himself upon the loyalty of his garrison. Queen Margaret meanwhile went to Lancashire and Cheshire "allying to her the knights and squires in those parts for to have their benevolence." She also summoned Salisbury, in the King's name, to London. Suspecting danger, the Earl took up arms instead of coming, marched with three thousand men to Ludlow to look for the Duke of York, and sent an urgent message to his son Warwick to come over from Calais and help him.

Warwick came, landed at Sandwich, and marched through London to Warwickshire. His father had, in the meantime, defeated and slain Lord Audley, who had been sent to arrest him, at Blore Heath, near Market Drayton. The two Earls then joined

the Duke of York at Ludlow; but their followers deserted them at the engagement known as the Rout of Ludford, and they had to ride for their lives. York

From a drawing by S. Harding, after an old picture in the collection of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill.

MARGARET OF ANJOU, QUEEN-CONSORT OF HENRY VI., WHO COMMANDED HER HUSBAND'S FORCES AGAINST THE KING-MAKER IN MANY A BATTLE.

went by way of Wales to Ireland. Warwick and his father travelled across country, and reached a fishing village near Barnstaple, in Devon.

It was then fortunate for them that Warwick was a sailor as well as a soldier. The master of the fishing-smack which they bought for 222 nobles confessed that he knew only the seas in the immediate neighbourhood. "Then," says the chronicler, "all that company was much cast down: but the Earl seeing that his father and the rest were sad, said to them that by the favour of God and St. George he would himself steer them to a safe port. And he stripped to his doublet, and took the helm himself, and had the sail hoisted, and turned the ship's bows westward."

He thus piloted them first to Guernsey, and thence to Calais, where his uncle, William Neville, Lord Falconbridge, commanded in his absence. "And then," we read, "all those lords went together in pilgrimage to Notre Dame de St. Pierre, and gave thanks for their safety. And when they came into Calais, the Mayor and the aldermen and the merchants of the Staple came out to meet them, and made them good cheer. And that night they were merry enough, when they thought they might have found Calais already in the hands of their enemies."

Their enemies, indeed, were already hard upon their heels. Somerset's herald arrived that very night, announcing that his master would come the next day to take possession. But "the guard answered the herald that they would give his news to the Earl of Warwick, who was their sole and only captain, and that he should have Warwick's answer in a few minutes. The herald was much abashed, and got

him away, and went back that same night to his master."

Sundry passages of arms for the possession of Calais followed. The most notable episode was Warwick's raid upon Sandwich, where his enemies had their base. He sent Sir John Dynham, and Sir John Wenlock, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons, who ran up the River Stour, and kidnapped and carried off to Calais Lord Rivers and his son, Sir Anthony Woodville. A grotesque performance followed their arrival :—

"So that evening Lord Rivers and his son were taken before the three Earls, accompanied by a hundred and sixty torches. And first the Earl of Salisbury rated Lord Rivers, calling him a knave's son, that he should have been so rude as to call him and these other lords traitors, for they should be found the King's true lieges when he should be found a traitor indeed. And then my Lord of Warwick rated him, and said that his father was but a squire, and that he had made himself by his marriage, and was but a made lord, so that it was not his part to hold such language of lords of the King's blood. And then my Lord of March rated him in like wise. Lastly Sir Antony was rated for his language of all three lords in the same manner."

This, we may take it, ends the first chapter in the Wars of the Roses. The second chapter begins with Warwick's invasion of Kent in June, 1460. He had arranged his plans with York, whom he had

visited in Ireland, scattering the Lancastrian fleet by the way, at the end of the previous year; and as soon as he landed, the men of Kent, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, rallied to his standard. Their sentiments towards him and his cause may be gathered from a fragment of an anonymous ballad hung on the gate of Canterbury:—

Send home, most gracious Jesu most benigne,
Send home the true blood to his proper vein,
Richard Duke of York thy servant insigne,
Whom Satan not ceaseth to set at disdain,
But by thee preserved he may not be slain.
Let him "ut sedeat in principibus" as he did before,
And so to our new song, Lord, thyne ear incline,
Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit Christe redemptor!

Edward the Earl of March, whose fame the earth shall spread,
Richard Earl of Salisbury, named Prudence,
With that noble knight and flower of manhood
Richard Earl of Warwick, shield of our defence,
Also little Faulconbridge, a knight of grete reverence.
Jesu! restore them to the honour they had before!

London welcomed the Yorkists hardly less eagerly than Kent. They entered in state with the Archbishop and a Papal Legate. The Lancastrian Lords who attempted resistance were driven by the mob into the Tower, where Lords Hungerford and Scales occupied themselves in "shooting wild-fire into the town every hour and laying great ordnance against it." Salisbury besieged them there; and when they surrendered, Lord Scales, on his way to seek sanctuary in Westminster, was murdered by the angry populace.

Meanwhile, however, the battle of Northampton had been fought. The Lancastrians had gathered there, and might have won the day, had not Lord Grey de Ruthyn turned traitor and gone over to the Yorkists in the middle of the fight. Then their lines were pierced and many of their leaders slain, including Buckingham, Beaumont, Egremont, and Shrewsbury.

It was at this juncture that Warwick first appeared in the *rôle* of King-maker. The Duke of York now, for the first time, laid claim to the royal dignity. On his march to London "he sent for trumpeteres and claryners from London, and gave them banners with the royal arms of England without distinction or diversity, and commanded his sword to be borne upright before him, and so he rode till he came to the gates of the Palace of Westminster."

On his arrival in London he proceeded to further ostentation, and even to brutality, taking forcible possession of the apartments of the unhappy King, who had just opened Parliament, and who was much too meek to resist: "He had the doors broken open, and King Henry hearing the great noise gave place, and took him another chamber that night." Then the Duke announced his intention of being crowned, and even began the necessary preparations. But there was the King-maker to be reckoned with, and the King-maker this time withstood him. He asked the Archbishop to remonstrate with him; and when the Archbishop would not, "then the Earl sent for his brother Thomas Neville, and entered into his barge,

and rowed to the palace. It was all full of the Duke's men-of-arms, but the Earl stayed not, and went straight to the Duke's chamber, and found him standing there, leaning against a side-board. And there were hard words between them, for the Earl told him that neither the lords nor the people would suffer him to strip the King of his crown. And as they wrangled, the Earl of Rutland came in and said to his cousin, 'Fair sir, be not angry, for you know that we have the true right to the crown, and that my Lord and Father here must have it.' But the Earl of March, his brother, stayed him and said, 'Brother, vex no man, for all shall be well.' But the Earl of Warwick would stay no longer when he understood his uncle's intent, and went off hastily to his barge, greeting no one as he went save his cousin of March."

The upshot was that the Duke was not crowned, but a compromise was arranged. Henry was to be King for his life, with the Duke of York for his Protector and his heir—an arrangement which London at all events approved:—

"The crowd shouted 'Long live King Henry and the Earl of Warwick,' for the said Earl had the good voice of the people, because he knew how to give them fair words, showing himself easy and familiar with them, for he was very subtle at gaining his ends, and always spoke not of himself but of the augmentation and good governance of the kingdom, for which he would have spent his life: and thus he had the

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

CÆSAR'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

goodwill of England, so that in all the land he was the lord who was held in most esteem and faith and credence."

The arrangement, however, did not remain in force for long. Queen Margaret had, in the meantime, been reorganising the Lancastrian forces in the North. Leaving Warwick at his Castle, the Duke of York marched north to meet her. He faced her at Wakefield, and the result was an overwhelming disaster to his arms. He himself fell on the field, together with Thomas Neville, William Lord Harington, and the Earl of Rutland. Salisbury was captured, taken to Pontefract, and beheaded.

Then the Queen marched south, and Warwick, hurrying up to London, mustered a fresh army and tried to repair the disaster. At St. Albans, where he had gained his first victory, he was now to endure defeat. A Kentish squire named Lovelace played him the same trick that Lord Grey de Ruthyn had played the Lancastrians at Northampton. His line was broken by this act of treachery, and his army scattered. Two of his followers, Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyrriel, were taken and beheaded. King Henry was recaptured by his friends "as he sat under a great oak, smiling to see the discomfiture of his army."

By all the rules the Yorkist game should have been up; but the rules were not observed on this occasion. London lay at the mercy of the Lancastrians, but for various reasons they delayed their march thither.

King Henry did not want to see the city sacked by the fierce moss-troopers of the North; and Queen Margaret, for once irresolute, let him have his way, and moved the army back to Dunstable. Time was thus given to Warwick to circle round and join Edward, Earl of March, fresh from a victory over the Welsh at Mortimer's Cross, at Chipping Norton; and they actually marched into London with ten thousand men, while the Lancastrians were still delaying in the vicinity.

The hour had now come for the King-maker to make a king. The time for half-measures and compromises was past; and the Earl of Warwick, with Falconbridge, and George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, decided to offer the crown to Edward, Earl of March, known to history as Edward IV. The coronation was hurriedly carried through, and then the Yorkists set out to meet the Lancastrian army, which was falling back before them. They forced the passage of the Aire, in Yorkshire, and came up with them at Towton.

The odds were heavily against them. To their thirty-five thousand the Lancastrians opposed sixty thousand men. Nevertheless, they attacked at dawn, on Palm Sunday, 1461, Falconbridge leading the left wing, Warwick the centre, and Edward the reserve, while Norfolk was charged to wheel round and make a flank assault.

It was the bloodiest *mêlée* in all that civil war; and the King-maker was ever in the thickest of the fight. "The greatest press of the battle," says Waurin,

"lay on the quarter where the Earl of Warwick stood." He was to be seen, says Whethamsted, "pressing on like a second Hector, and encouraging his young soldiers." As for the details of the fight, I must take the liberty of quoting from the monograph on the King-maker by Professor Oman, whose name my readers will recognise as that of one of the greatest authorities on mediæval war. I take up the story at the moment of Norfolk's flank attack :—

"The arrival of Norfolk had been to Warwick's men what the arrival of Blücher was to Wellington's at Waterloo; after having fought all this day on the defensive they had their opportunity at last, and were eager to use it. When the Lancastrians had once begun to retire they found themselves so hotly pushed on that they could never form a new line of battle. Their gross numbers were crushed more and more closely together as the pressure on their left flank became more and more marked; and if any reserves yet remained in hand, there was no way of bringing them to the front. Yet, as all the chroniclers acknowledge, the Northern men gave way to no panic; they turned again and again, and strove to dispute every step between Towtondale and the edge of the plateau. It took three hours more of fighting to roll them off the rising ground; but when once they were driven down their position became terrible. The Cock when in flood is in many places unfordable; sometimes it spreads out so as to cover the fields for fifty yards on each side of its wonted bed;

FIGURE OF THE KING-MAKER ON THE TOMB OF RICHARD DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL.

and the only safe retreat across it was by the single bridge on the Tadcaster road. The sole result of the desperate fighting of the Lancastrians was that this deadly obstacle now lay in their immediate rear. The whole mass was compelled to pass the river as best it could. Some escaped by the bridge; many forded the Cock where its stream ran shallow; many yielded themselves as prisoners—some to get quarter, others not, for the Yorkists were wild with the rage of three hours' slaughter. But many thousands had a worse fortune. Striving to ford the river where it was out of their depth, or trodden down in the shallower parts by their own flying comrades, they

died without being touched by the Yorkist steel. Any knight or man-at-arms who lost his footing in the water was doomed, for the cumbrous armour of the later fifteenth century made it quite impossible to rise again. Even the billman and archer in his salet and jack would find it hard to regain his feet. Hence we may well believe the chroniclers when they tell us that the Cock slew its thousands that day, and that the last Lancastrians who crossed its waters crossed them on a bridge composed of the bodies of their comrades."

And so it ended. King Henry, who, says a Yorkshire chronicler, "was kept off the field because he was better at praying than at fighting," had only an escort of six horsemen to guard him in his flight from York Minster to Durham. Thirty thousand Lancastrians and eight thousand Yorkists had fallen. Among the former were Lords Dacre, Mauley, Neville, and Welles, Sir Andrew Trollope, Sir Ralph Grey, and Sir Henry Beckingham; while Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was captured and beheaded, and the Earl of Northumberland died the next day of his wounds.

The extermination of the old feudal baronage, which was the most conspicuous consequence of the Wars of the Roses, was proceeding fast.

CHAPTER III

Honours for the Earl of Warwick—His Subjugation of the Northern Lancastrian Fortresses—Coolness between King and King-maker—The Three Causes of Difference—The Indignation of Warwick and his Surly Message to the King.

IN the distribution of honours and emoluments Edward IV. did not, it would appear, succeed in giving equal satisfaction to all his friends and supporters. "The King," writes a correspondent of the Pastons, "receives such men as have been his great enemies, and great oppressors of his Commons, while such as have assisted his Highness be not rewarded; which is to be considered, or else it will hurt, as seemeth me but reason." The King-maker, however, at all events, had nothing to complain of. His old offices were restored to him, and new offices were conferred upon him. On one day, May 7th, 1461, he was appointed Great Chamberlain of England, Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, Captain of the Town and Castle of Calais and the Tower of Risbanck, Lieutenant of the Marches of Picardy, Master of the Mews and Falcons, Steward of the Manor and Lordship of Feckenham; and he was subsequently made Warden and Commissary-General of the East and West Marches; Procurator, Envoy, and Special Deputy to treat with Scotland;

Chief Commissioner of Array in the Counties of Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon; Steward of England (for certain trials); Lieutenant in the North; Chief Special Commissioner and Justice in the County of Northumberland, etc., etc.

A political poem of the period shows how prominently he figured in the public eye:—

> Richard the erl of Warwyk, of Knyghthode
> Lodesterre, borne of a stok that evyr schal be trewe,
> Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,
> Hathe ay ben redy to help and resskewe
> Kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endewe;
> The commens therto have redy every houre;
> The voyx of the peuple, the voix of Jhesu,
> Who kepe and preserve hym from alle langoure.

His immediate task was to finish the war in the North by the subjugation of Lancastrian castles, while the King held coronation feasts and revelries in London. It was a longer business than it seemed likely to be at first. Queen Margaret was a great adept at intrigue. She managed to get help—though not, it is true, very much help—from both Scots and French; and there were sporadic disturbances, which, if not checked, would soon have become formidable, in 1461, 1462, and 1463. We need not follow the shifting fortunes of the war in detail; but we must take note of Warwick's more notable achievements in it.

He conducted a winter campaign in an age in

From the picture by Canaletto at the Castle.

WARWICK CASTLE IN 1746.

which armies were accustomed to spend the winter in winter quarters, maintaining four separate forces in the field, and keeping them all well supplied. "The Earl of Warwick," says a Paston letter, "is at Warkworth, and rides daily to the castles of Alnwick, Dunstanborough, and Bamburgh, which are being besieged, to oversee the sieges; and if they want victuals or any other thing, he is ready to purvey it for them to his power."

An incident of one of the battles of the period may be quoted for the light which it throws upon his character :—

"At the departing of Sir Piers de Bressy and his fellowship, there was one manly man among them, that purposed to meet with the Earl of Warwick; he was a taberette (drummer), and he stood upon a little hill with his tabor and his pipe, tabering and piping as merrily as any man might. There he stood by himself; till my lord Earl came unto him he would not leave his ground." Whereupon "he became my lord's man, and yet is with him, a full good servant to his lord."

The back of the opposition was at last broken by Warwick's brother John, now Lord Montagu, at Hedgeley Moor and at Hexham. After the latter fight there was, as usual, a great batch of executions. Somerset, Lord Roos, Lord Hungerford, Sir Edmond Fitzhugh, Sir Philip Wentworth, Sir Thomas Hussey, and many others were beheaded. The siege of Bamborough followed. It is one of the earliest in-

stances in history of the use of siege artillery, though field artillery to "frighten the horses" had been used in the Hundred Years' War with France. The contemporary account runs thus :—

"So all the King's guns that were charged began to shoot upon the said Castle. 'Newcastle,' the King's greatest gun, and 'London,' the second gun of iron, so betide the place that the stones of the walls flew into the sea. 'Dyon,' a brass gun of the King's, smote through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes, and 'Edward' and 'Richard,' the bombardels, and other ordnance, were busied on the place. Presently the wall was breached, and my lord of Warwick, with his men-at-arms and archers, won the castle by assault, maugre Sir Ralph Grey, and took him alive, and brought him to the King at Doncaster. And there the Earl of Worcester, Constable of England, sat in judgment on him."

The war was over. Our next theme is the quarrel that broke out between the King-maker and the King.

The coolness began over the King's marriage. He was now twenty-three, and "men marvelled that he abode so long without any wife, and feared that he was not over chaste of his living." There was talk of his marrying Isabella of Castile ; and his failure to do so seems to have rankled for many years. Some twenty years later, in the reign of Henry VII., we come upon a report of a message delivered, in August, 1483, by that royal lady's ambassador to the English Court, which runs thus :—

"Besides these instructions given in writing by this orator he shewed to the Kinges grace, by mouth, that the queen of Castile was turned in her heart from England in tyme past for the unkindness the which she took against the King last deceased, whom God pardon, for his refusing of her and taking to his wife a widow of England; for the which cause also was mortal war betwixt him and the Earl of Warwick, the which took ever her part to the time of his death."

This does not seem, however, to be quite an accurate version of the events. Warwick, as a matter of fact, negotiated on the King's behalf for the hand of another lady, Princess Bona of Savoy, sister to Queen Charlotte of France; and it was in connection with this proposal that the King, to put it vulgarly, made a fool of him. For when everything was arranged, and the Council had met to approve the arrangements:—

"Then the King answered that of a truth he wished to marry, but that perchance his choice might not be to the liking of all present. Then those of his Council asked to know of his intent, and would be told to what house he would go. To which the King replied in right merry guise that he would take to wife Dame Elisabeth Grey, the daughter of Lord Rivers. But they answered him that she was not his match, however good and however fair she might be, and that he must know well that she was no wife for such a high prince as himself; for she was not the daughter of a duke or earl, but her mother the

Duchess of Bedford had married a simple knight, so that though she was the child of a duchess and the niece of the Count of St. Pol, still she was no wife for him. When King Edward heard these sayings of the lords of his blood and his Council, which it seemed good to them to lay before him, he answered that he should have no other wife, and that such was his good pleasure."

It transpired, in fact, that the King had taken the irretrievable step five months before; and he now wanted Warwick to explain matters to Louis XI. This Warwick naturally declined to do; but there was still no open breach between him and his sovereign. He assisted at the coronation of the new Queen, and received further marks of the royal favour, being commissioned to prorogue a Parliament, and made, among other things, Steward of England (for trials); Lord of the Honour of Cockermouth; Chief Ambassador, Orator, and Special Commissioner to treat with Burgundy and Brittany; and Joint Commissioner, Procurator, and General and Special Envoy to treat with Scotland.

Occasions of difference, however, between King and King-maker multiplied. Let us take them in their order:—

1. The King, in order to make himself independent of the House of Neville, arranged a series of marriages to consolidate the influence of the rival House of Rivers. He married Margaret Wydville to Thomas, Lord Maltravers, heir of the Earl of Arundel; Anne

Wydville to the heir of Bourchier, Earl of Essex; Mary Wydville to the eldest son of Lord Herbert; Eleanor Wydville to George Grey, heir of the Earl of Kent; Catherine Wydville to the young Duke of Buckingham; and John Wydville to the Dowager-Duchess of Norfolk, who was old enough to be his grandmother. The cumulative effect of these alliances displeased Warwick, as it was unquestionably intended to.

2. The King interfered with Warwick's own ambitious matrimonial plans. His nephew, George Neville, heir to Montagu, was betrothed to Anne, heiress of the Duke of Exeter; but "the Queen paid to the said Duchess 4000 marks" to break off the engagement, and marry Thomas Grey, her own son by her first marriage, instead. He had also arranged to marry his daughter Isabel to the King's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, suggesting to him, according to Waurin, though the allegation may have been an after-thought, that he could "make him King or governor of all England"; but the King forbade the marriage. To interfere with the marriage of a Neville was to touch him in a tender spot.

3. Finally, in 1467, the King sent Warwick on a fool's errand to France. His mission was to conclude a permanent peace; and he was well received at Rouen:—

"The King gave the Earl most honourable greeting; for there came out to meet him the priests of every parish in the town in their copes, with crosses and banners and holy water, and so he was conducted

to Notre Dame de Rouen, where he made his offering. And he was well lodged at the Jacobins in the said town of Rouen. Afterwards the Queen and her daughter came to the said town that he might see them. And the King abode with Warwick for the space of twelve days, communing with him, after which the Earl departed back into England."

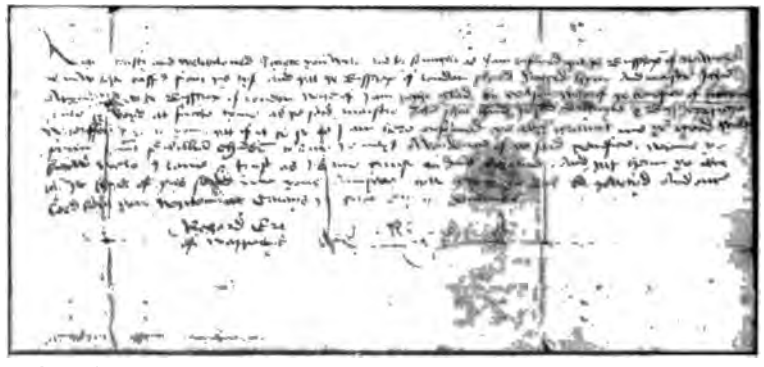
French ambassadors came with him: the Archbishop of Bayonne, the Bastard of Bourbon, the Bishop of Bayeux, Master Jean de Poupencourt, and some others. But they landed only to find that the King had already concluded an alliance with the rival power of Burgundy behind their backs. Warwick was pointedly snubbed. When he waited on the King to tell him of his cordial reception by the French, he "perceived from the King's countenance that he was paying no attention at all to what he was saying." The ambassadors "were much abashed to see" the King, "for he showed himself a Prince of a haughty bearing," and could get no satisfaction from him. He failed even to appoint commissioners to treat with them; and the presents which he sent them on the eve of their departure from the country were beggarly, as though intended as an expression of contempt. Moreover, he took away the Great Seal from Warwick's brother, George Neville, Archbishop of York.

It is no wonder that the King-maker let the foreigners see his indignation:—

"As they rowed home in their barge the Frenchmen had many discourses with each other. But

Warwick was so wroth that he could not contain himself, and he said to the Admiral of France, 'Have you not seen what traitors there are about the King's person?' But the Admiral answered, 'My Lord, I pray you grow not hot; for some day you shall be well avenged.' But the Earl said, 'Know that those very traitors were the men who have had my brother displaced from the office of Chancellor, and made the King take the seal from him.'"

It is no wonder either that, when at Christmas the King summoned him to Court, he stayed at Middleham, sending the message that "never would he come again to Council while all his mortal enemies, who were about the King's person, namely, Lord Rivers the Treasurer, and Lord Scales and Lord Herbert and Sir John Wydville, remained there present."



From the original at Warwick Castle.

A LETTER SIGNED BY RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK, ASKING THE DEAN OF WARWICK TO OBTAIN THE ADVOWSON OF THE CHURCH, HELD BY MASTER ARUNDEL, FOR HIS SERVANT.

CHAPTER IV

The Vengeance of the King-maker—His Landing in Kent—His Compromise with Edward IV.—His Flight—His Accommodation with Queen Margaret—His Landing at Dartmouth—The Treachery of the Duke of Clarence—The Death of Warwick at the Battle of Barnet—An Estimate of his Character.

ALL England was persuaded that the King-maker would take measures to avenge himself; and some of his friends and admirers even went so far as to anticipate his plans of vengeance. One of the Rivers' manors was sacked by a Kentish mob, and in January, 1468, a French ambassador reports to his sovereign :—

"In one county more than three hundred archers were in arms, and had made themselves a captain named Robin, and sent to the Earl of Warwick to know if it was time to be busy, and to say that all their neighbours were ready. But my Lord answered, bidding them go home, for it was not yet time to be stirring. If the time should come, he would let them know."

Moreover, there were some sporadic Lancastrian risings in Wales and the South-west, followed by the customary brisk series of decapitations. Sir Henry Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devon, and Thomas, son of Lord Hungerford, and Jasper Tudor, of Pembroke,

were among those who then lost their heads. But Warwick was no Lancastrian as yet. He bided his time and laid his plans, making sure of the co-operation of his kinsmen before he would raise his arm to strike. He even sat among the judges who tried some of the Lancastrian conspirators.

Not until April, 1469, was he ready; and then he proceeded with great cunning. He went to Calais; and suddenly there were risings in various parts of England, unquestionably fomented by him, though there was no evidence to implicate him in them at the moment. Clarence, however, joined him at Calais, and married his daughter there, in the face of the royal prohibition; and on the day after the wedding Duke and Earl had landed in Kent, the Kentish men had rallied to them, and they were marching upon London. The King was in the Midlands, whither he had gone to face the northern rebels, and could not stay their progress; and these northern rebels did all the fighting that was required. The royal forces were defeated at Edgecott; and Edward, who had not been at that battle, was surrounded at Olney. There George Neville, Archbishop of York, waited upon him, and bade him rise and make haste and dress.

"Then the King said he would not, for he had not yet had his rest; but the Archbishop, that false and disloyal priest, said to him a second time, 'Sire, you must rise and come to see my brother of Warwick, nor do I think that you can refuse me.' So the King,

fearing worse might come to him, rose and rode off to meet his cousin of Warwick."

The meeting took place at Coventry. The King was held prisoner for a month—part of the time at Warwick Castle—though in honourable and comfortable

From an old print.

KING EDWARD IV., WHOM THE KING-MAKER FIRST PLACED UPON THE THRONE AND THEN DEPOSED.

condition, and with leave to go hunting under escort. But it was no part of Warwick's plan just then to depose King Edward in favour either of his brother or of King Henry, who had been captured some time before, a wandering fugitive, in the North, and lodged for security in the Tower. He was satisfied to exact pardons and impose terms, including a grant to himself

of the office of Chamberlain of South Wales and the right to nominate the governors of sundry castles in that region.

Edward is reported to have been satisfied with the arrangement.

"The King himself," writes one of the Pastons that day, "hath good language of my Lords of Clarence, Warwick, and York, saying they be his best friends; but his household have other language, so that what shall hastily fall I cannot say."

It looked, for a little while, as though matters would now definitely settle down. But suddenly, in February, 1470, there was a fresh rising, this time in Lincolnshire, headed by Sir Robert Welles, son of Lord Willoughby and Welles. The King suppressed it, and then gave out that Warwick and Clarence had been concerned in it, and summoned them to his presence, bidding them come unattended. In the absence of adequate evidence of their complicity, one surmises that Edward was inventing a pretext for putting it out of their power to do him any further harm.

They naturally did not obey his summons, but fled over-sea. Wenlock, who was governing Calais, was afraid to admit them, though he sent out a friendly message and two flagons of wine as medical comforts for the Duchess of Clarence, who gave birth to a son, the future Edward, Earl of Warwick, on board ship. Then they went down the Channel, making prizes on their way of sundry ships belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, and found at last a friendly haven at

Harfleur. It was in the course of this sojourn on French soil that Warwick was brought over to the Lancastrian side.

It was Louis XI. who suggested and negotiated the reconciliation. Though Queen Margaret had beheaded Warwick's father, and Warwick had called Queen Margaret an adulteress and her son a bastard, the French King did not see why the sentiments engendered by these untoward incidents should stand in the way of an alliance which considerations of political expediency dictated. He gained his end, and the bitter enemies swore eternal friendship on a fragment of the true cross, the Queen only drawing the line at a proposal that Warwick's younger daughter, the Lady Anne, should be married to the Prince of Wales. Everybody except the Duke of Clarence was satisfied; and the Duke, for the time being, kept his dissatisfaction to himself.

The invasions, to which these proceedings were the prelude, occurred in September of the same year. As before, an insurrection was contrived in the North by way of prelude to it; and when Edward had gone north to put it down, Warwick and Clarence, with sundry Lancastrian barons, landed without opposition at Dartmouth. The King was at Doncaster when they got to London. He discovered treachery in his own camp, and had to fly for his life. He got to Lynn so destitute that he had to pay for his passage with his fur-lined overcoat; but he put to sea safely, and, landing at Alkmaar, took refuge with the Dutch governor, Louis of Gruthuye.

Henry VI. was now fetched from the Tower, where he was found "not worshipfully arrayed as a Prince, and not so cleanly kept as should beseem his state." He was a broken man. "He sat on his throne," says a chronicler, "as limp and helpless as a sack of wool. . . . He was a mere shadow and pretence, and what was done in his name was done without his will and knowledge." There were, as usual, various new appointments made in the King's name, and various executions. Warwick became the King's Lieutenant, and was restored to the offices of Admiral and Captain of Calais. Clarence was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, an office he had previously held. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, known to fame or infamy as the Butcher of England, was the chief of those who lost their heads. Moreover, a treaty with France was concluded.

King Edward, however, was not the man to stay abroad without making an effort to come into his own again. It took him five months to make his arrangements; then, with three hundred Germans, hired for him by the Duke of Burgundy, and fifteen hundred refugees, including the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards to be Richard III., and Lords Hastings, Say, and Scales, he set out from Flushing, escorted by a Hanseatic fleet, and, after failing to land at Cromer, effected a landing successfully at Ravenspur, the very landing-place of Henry IV. At first he repudiated all pretensions to the crown, swearing upon the cross of the high altar in York Minster "that he never

would again take upon himself to be King of England, nor would have done before that time, but for the exciting and stirring of the Earl of Warwick, and thereto before all the people he cried, 'King Harry! King Harry and Prince Edward!'"

But when he felt strong enough, he gained further strength by the disclosure of his true designs. Warwick had the greatest difficulty in getting an army together to meet him. A letter of his, appealing for help to Henry Vernon of Derbyshire, written by a secretary, but with a postscript in the Earl's own handwriting, was discovered a few years ago in a lumber-room at Belvoir Castle. It runs as follows:—

"Right trusty and righte welbiloved I grete you well, And desire and hertily pray you that in asmoche as yonder man Edward, the Kinges oure soverain lord gret ennemy, rebelle and traitour, is now late arrived in the north parties of this land and commyng fast on southward accompanyed with Flemynges, Esterlinges, and Danes, not exceeding the nombre of all that he ever hath of ij^{ml} persones, nor the contre as he commeth nothing falling to him, ye woll therfor incontynente and furthwith aftir the sight herof dispose you toward me to Coventre with as many people defensibly arraied as ye can redily make, and that ye be with me there in all haste possible as my vray singuler trust is in you and as I mowe doo thing to your wele or worship heraftir, And God kepe you. Writen at Warrewik the xxv^{ti} day of Marche.

[Postscript in the Earl's own hand] "Henry I pray you ffayle not now as ever I may do ffor yow."

Henry Vernon, however, seems to have made no response to this urgent repeal, and Warwick soon began to find himself in difficulties. The Duke of Clarence, who all the time had meditated treachery, deserted him and joined his brother, and then tried to patch up a peace.

"He sent to Coventry," says a Yorkist chronicler, "offering certain good and profitable conditions to the Earl, if he would accept them. But the Earl, whether he despaired of any durable continuance of good accord betwixt the King and himself, or else willing to maintain the great oaths, pacts, and promises sworn to Queen Margaret, or else because he thought he should still have the upper hand of the King, or else led by certain persons with him, as the Earl of Oxford, who bore great malice against the King, would not suffer any manner of appointment, were it reasonable or unreasonable."

And he told the messengers that he "thanked God he was himself and not that traitor Duke."

Then Edward IV. came on. This time it was his turn to march to London while his enemy was in the Midlands. The citizens let him in, and King Henry was sent back to the Tower. Thus secured, he went out to look for Warwick, who, in his turn, was looking for him. The armies at last met at Barnet, and the battle began with an artillery duel in the dark :—

"Both sides had guns and ordnance, but the Earl,

From the original at Warwick Castle.

THE KING-MAKER'S MACE.

meaning to have greatly annoyed the King, shot guns almost all the night. But it fortuned that they always overshot the King's host, and hurt them little or nought, for the King lay much nearer to them than they deemed. But the King suffered no guns to be shot on his side, or else right few, which was of great advantage to him, for thereby the Earl should have found the ground that he lay in, and levelled guns thereat."

So far as can be computed, the numbers were about equal: on each side there were some twenty thousand men. At first it looked as though Warwick was once more to win the day. Montagu and Oxford rolled up the left wing of the Yorkists, and many of the troopers fled as far as London. The advantage was thrown away, however, by an indiscreet pursuit; and in the meanwhile the King, in the centre, "beat and bare down all that stood in his way, and then turned to range, first on that hand and then on the other hand, and in length so beat and bare them down that nothing might stand in the sight of him and of the well-assured fellowship that attended truly upon him."

Presently the pursuers returned. But they had lost their way in the thick fog that prevailed throughout the battle. They turned up at a point where they were not expected, and their friends mistook them for the enemy and fell upon them furiously. In the confusion that prevailed, Oxford, believing that there were traitors in the camp, as had so often happened in these wars, fled from the field with all his men; and the confusion became worse confounded. There were Lancastrians who assumed that Warwick had betrayed them, and therefore fell upon the Nevilles. Warwick stood his ground a little longer, and then he too fled. His heavy armour impeded him. His body and that of his brother, Montagu, were found at the edge of Wrotham Wood; and the two bodies were taken to London and laid on the pavement of St. Paul's, and exposed to the public view for three days, "to the intent that the people should not be abused by feigned tales, else the rumour should have been sowed about that the Earl was yet alive."

Such was the end of the King-maker.[1] Thanks to

[1] His arms are thus given in a Lansdowne MS.:—

Arms: "Gules, a saltire argent, a label or."

Arms: "Quarterly. Gowlys a sawtr sylver wt a difference, and gowlys a ffece bytweene vi crosse crosselets golld."

The arms which he bore as Earl of Salisbury were:—

"1 and 4, Quarterly, Montagu and Monthermer; 2 and 3, Neville, a label compony argent and azure."

Crest: "(1) Out of a coronet a griffin sejant with wings extended; (2) out of a wreath silver and gules a bull's head argent, spotted sable, armed or."

Supporters: "Dexter, a bull tenué armed and unguled and tufted or; sinister, an eagle vert, beaked and membered gules."

Badges: (1) "The Bere" and (2) "Ragged Staff"; (3) "Ung baston noir."

Liveries: 1458, "Rede iakettys with white raggyd staves upon them." (Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 633.)

Lord Lytton's novel, history knows him as "the last of the Barons"; and he was truly the last of the barons in the sense that he was the last of those great feudal lords who had but to give the word for their retainers to raise, not a battalion, but an army. But though he was a great feudal lord, he was also something more than that. He was a statesman, a diplomatist—the power behind the throne. If he was violent and cruel, he was less so than the great majority of his contemporaries. He could manage men as well as lead them; and he was not more renowned for his audacity than for his affability: "He ever had the voice of the people, because he gave them fair words, showing himself easy and familiar." In this regard we may endorse the verdict of Professor Oman—that "he should be thought of as the forerunner of Wolsey rather than as the successor of Robert of Belesme, or the Bohuns and Bigods."

From the original at Warwick Castle.

A LETTER WITH THE AUTOGRAPHS OF RALF LORD SUDELEY, WILLIAM DE LA POLE EARL OF SUFFOLK, AND RICHARD EARL OF SALISBURY, ASKING THE DEAN OF WARWICK TO SEND THE REGISTER OF KNIGHTS' FEES TO LONDON.

CHAPTER V

The King-maker's Widow, his Daughters, and his Sons-in-law—Anne Neville's Petition to Parliament—The Sad End of the Duke of Clarence—The Still Sadder Fate of Edward, Earl of Warwick—The Fate of Edward's Sister Margaret in the Reign of Henry VIII.

THE King-maker left a widow, Anne, Dowager-Countess of Warwick, as well as two daughters, Isabel, Duchess of Clarence, and Anne, who married the Duke of Gloucester, Clarence's younger brother, subsequently to reign as Richard III. She seems to have had some fear of being punished for her husband's offences. Among the British Museum manuscripts is a petition from her "to the right worshipful and discreet Commons of this present Parliament," setting forth her apprehensions thus:—

"Sheweth unto your wisdoms and discretions the King's true liege woman Anne, Countess of Warwick, which never offended his most redoubted highness, for she immediately after the death of her lord and husband, on whose soul God have mercy, for none offence by her done, but dreading only trouble being that time within this realm, entered into the sanctuary of Beaulieu for surety of her person, to dispose for the weal and health of the soul of her said lord and husband as right and conscience required her so to do, making within 5 days or near thereabouts after

her entry into the said sanctuary her labours, suits and means to the King's highness for her safe guard to be had as diligently and effectually as her power would extend, she not ceasing but after her power continuing in such labours, suits and means, in so much that in absence of clerks she hath written letters in that behalf to the King's highness with her own hand, soothly also to the queen's good grace, to my right redoubted lady the King's mother, to my lady the King's eldest daughter, to my lords the King's brethren, to my ladies the King's sisters, to my lady of Bedford, mother to the queen, and to other ladies noble of this realm, in which labours, suits and means she hath continued hitherto, and so will continue as she owes to do, that it may please the King of his most good and noble

From an old print.
ANNE NEVILLE, DAUGHTER OF THE KING-MAKER AND QUEEN-CONSORT OF RICHARD III.

grace to have consideration that during the life of her said lord and husband she was covert baron, which point she remits to your great wisdoms, and that after his decease all the time of her being in the said sanctuary she hath duly kept her fidelity and legiance, and obeyed the King's commandments. Howbeit, it hath passed the King's highness by some sinister information to his said highness made, to direct his most dread letters to the abbot of the monastery of Beaulieu with right sharp commandment that such persons as his highness sent to the said monastery should have guard and straight keeping of her person, which was and is to her great heart's grievance, she specially fearing that the privileges and liberties of the church, by such keeping of her person, might be interrupt and violate, where the privileges of the said sanctuary were never so largely attempted unto this time, as is said; yet the said Anne, y^e^ countess, under protestation by her made, hath suffered straight keeping of her person, and yet doth, that her fidelity and legiance to the King's highness the better might be understood, hoping she might the rather have had largess to make suits to the King's highness in her own person, for her livelihood and rightful inheritance." [She therefore humbly prays relief.]

No harm came to her, however. "Item," writes Sir John Paston, "that the Countess of Warwick is now out of Beaulieu sanctuary. Sir James Tyrell conveyed her northwards, men say by the

King's assent, whereto some men say that the Duke of Clarence is not agreed." Later, in the reign of Henry VII., she was granted a pension of 500 marks.

From a drawing by S. Harding.

GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE, SON-IN-LAW OF THE KING-MAKER BY MARRIAGE WITH HIS ELDER DAUGHTER, ISABEL, AND *JURE UXORIS* EARL OF WARWICK.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Clarence became, *jure uxoris*, Earl of Warwick.

His most memorable exploits have already been related in our narrative. His death is more famous than his life, because of the legend that he was

drowned in a butt of malmsey,[1] after being attainted of high treason, through the influence of his brother and successor. The best-known version of the story is that in Shakespeare's "King Richard the Third," from which I quote:—

1 *Murd.* Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt in the next room.

2 *Murd.* O excellent device! and make a sop of him.

1 *Murd.* Hark! he stirs.

2 *Murd.* Shall I strike?

1 *Murd.* No, first let's reason with him.

Clarence (awaking). Where art thou, keeper? Give me a cup of wine.

1 *Murd.* You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

Clar. In God's name, what art thou?

1 *Murd.* A man, as you are.

Clar. But not, as I am, royal.

1 *Murd.* Nor you, as we are, loyal.

Clar. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

1 *Murd.* My voice is now the King's, my looks mine own.

Clar. How darkly and how deadly dost thou speak!
Your eyes do menace me: why look you pale?
Tell me, who are you, wherefore come you hither?

Both Murd. To, to, to—

Clar. To murder me?

Both Murd. Ay, ay.

[1] "*Malmsey:* A wine, usually sweet, strong, and of high flavour, originally and still made in Greece, but now especially in the Canary and Madeira Islands, and also in the Azores and in Spain. The name is somewhat loosely given to such wines, and is used in combination, as Malmsey-Madeira" (Century Dictionary).

The Duke of Clarence left four children, of whom two died in infancy. He was buried with his wife at Tewkesbury,[1] and we read in a letter written by Dr. Langton to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, that Edward IV. "assigned certain lords" to accompany his body thither, and "intends to do right worshipfully for his soul."

By his death the dignity passed to his son, Edward, Earl of Warwick, whose life is one of the most pathetic in all history.

No harm came to him during the reigns of his two uncles. His name appears, curiously enough, not far removed from those of some ancestors of the House of Greville, in the list of admissions to the

[1] The vault was opened in 1828 in the presence of the vicar, curate, and churchwardens; it was in perfect condition, and measured 9 feet from north to south, 8 feet from east to west, and 6 feet 4 inches high in centre. The arched roof and walls are of large blocks of freestone, the floor paved with tiles, in the centre being a cross formed of tiles bearing various devices—the arms of England, De Clare, etc., and birds, fleur-de-lis, foliage, etc. In the north-west corner were the skulls and bones of a male and female, which were no doubt those of the Duke and Duchess. Six large stones at the south end of the vault were evidently arranged to carry two coffins side by side. In 1709, 1729, and 1753 the bodies of Samuel Hawling, his wife, and their son were allowed to occupy the vault, and the earlier remains were probably disturbed and removed from their original position then; but in 1829 the Hawling remains were removed and deposited in a grave in the ambulatory, the remains of the original occupants being placed in an ancient stone coffin, dug up near the vestry door in 1775, and believed to have originally held the remains of a Despencer. This stone coffin was found full of water in 1875, and was removed, the remains being placed in a casket on the south wall of the vault, in which position they now remain.

Guild of the Holy Cross, at Stratford-on-Avon.[1] Some documents show grants made in his name, during his minority, in connection with services to be rendered at Warwick Castle. There is a grant, for instance, to "James Kayley, 'in consideration of the good and true service which oure trusty servaunt hath doon unto us in our last victorious journey,' of the office of porter of the castle of Warwick, keeper of the garden there, keeper of the meadows of the lordship of Warwick, and keeper of the lodge of Goderest, co. Warwick, during the minority," etc.; and another to "John Swynerton of the office of porter of Warwick Castle, and keeper of the garden there called the Vineyard, during the minority of Edward, Earl of Warwick, and as long as the earldom of Warwick shall remain in the hands of the crown, with wages, etc., out of the earldom of Warwick"; and a third to "Thomas Brereton, one of the gentlemen ushers of the King's chamber, of the offices of constable of the

[1] ADMISSIONS INTO THE GUILD OF THE HOLY CROSS, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

22 H. VI.	Joyce, w. of John Grevill of Sesyncote, Esq.
	John, s. of Maurice, s. of said John.
	Johan, w. of Henry Tracy.
8 E. IV.	Richard Grevell of Lemynton, Gent., and Elena, h. w.
17 E. IV.	George Duke of Clarence and Lady Isabell.
	Edward E. of Warwick, his son.
	Lady Margaret, his sister.
13 H. VII.	Master John Grevell and Johan, h. w.
23 H. VII.	John, s. of Edw. Grevill and Elizabeth, h. w.
24 H. VII.	Edward Grevill, Esq., and Ann, h. w.
17 H. VIII.	Giles Grevell, Kt.

N.B.—The arms of the Duke's predecessor, *viz.* Henry Duke of Warwick, are painted in the Guild Hall, now the Grammar School.

castle of Warwick, steward of the lordship of Warwick, with its members, and master of the game of Wegenok, co. Warwick, with wages, etc., such as John Hugford, esq., had in the same office." The Earl attended

From an old print.

KING RICHARD III., SON-IN-LAW OF THE KING-MAKER BY MARRIAGE WITH HIS YOUNGER DAUGHTER, ANNE.

Richard III.'s coronation, and was recognised as his heir-apparent. But then came the battle of Bosworth Field, and the accession of Henry VII., whose reasons for wishing the only surviving male representative of the House of York out of the way were obvious enough. So this poor boy—he was only nine years of age—was shut up in the Tower, and kept there,

for no other reason than the cowardly fear that, if he were left at large, he might be dangerous.

He proved, in fact, as dangerous in captivity as he could have been at liberty. Impostors personated him, and in his name raised the standard of revolt. Every schoolboy remembers the story of Lambert Simnel, who, after professing to be Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, was put to the office of scullion in the royal kitchen. To expose the imposture, the prisoner was given a day's outing, as is recorded in Bacon's "History of King Henry VII."

"About this time," says Bacon, "Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's Church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility and others of quality (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best) had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse."

Then followed the graver affair of Perkin Warbeck; and, as Bacon puts it, "it was ordained that this winding ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the tree itself." Perkin was sent to the Tower, and "there contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot which was to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower, whom

the weary life of a long imprisonment and the oft and renewing fears of being put to death had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty." The nature of the plot was that four "varlets" should "murder their master the Lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently to let forth Perkin and the Earl." It is not in the least likely that Edward, who is said to have been rendered half imbecile by his long confinement, took any active part in the plot, or had any but the vaguest idea what it was all about. But the chance was too good for the King to lose. Edward of Warwick[1] was beheaded on Tower Hill on November 24th, 1499, and subsequently had all his honours taken from him by posthumous process of attainder. It is a tragical story of shameless persecution.

The posthumous attainder, however, was, some years

[1] The arms of Edward, Earl of Warwick, are thus given in a Harleian MS.:—

"I. Quarterly: France modern and England a label of 3 gobony argent and azure.

"II. Fraunce and England a labell of 3 points argent, on eache pointe a torteaux.

"III. Quarterly, I. France, II. England, III. Beauchamp, IV. Neubourg. Over all in pretence, quarterly, 1, Vairy or and gules an inescutcheon of the 2nd (FitzJohn); 2, Lozengy or and azure a bordure gules charged with 8 plates (Neubourg); 3, Neville, a label or; 4, Argent, a maunch gules (Toeni). Over I. and II. a label compony argent and azure.

"*Crest:* On a chapeau of estate gules, turned up ermine, a lion statant crowned or, gorged with a label argent charged as in I. or II. (Arms).

"*Supporters:* dexter, a bull sable armed unguled and tufted or; sinister, a bear argent."

later, to be annulled by a statute of Henry VIII.; and the words of the petition incorporated in the Act show that the injustice of his treatment was fully recognised.

"Which Edward," the document runs, "most gracious sovereign lord, was always from his childhood, being of the age of eight years, until the time of his decease, remaining and kept in ward and restrained from his liberty, as well within the Tower of London as in other places, having none experience nor knowledge of the worldly policies, nor of the laws of this realm, so that, if any offence were by him done . . . it was rather by innocency than of any malicious purpose."

The petitioner at whose instance this act of justice was done was Edward's sister Margaret, who had married Sir Richard Pole, Knight, son of Sir Geoffrey Pole, Knight, descended from a family of ancient gentry in Wales, who, having valiantly served King Henry VII. in his wars, was made Chief Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Arthur, and Knight of the Garter. In the fifth year of King Henry VIII. she petitioned the King that she might be allowed to inherit the state and dignity of her brother, the late Earl of Warwick, and be styled Countess of Salisbury. Her petition was granted, and the same year she obtained letters patent for all the castles, manors, and lands of Richard, late Earl of Salisbury, her grandfather, which, by the attainder of the said Edward, Earl of Warwick, came to the Crown.

Her end, however, like her brother's, was to be evil. "In the 31st year of King Henry VIII.," says Edmondson, "she was condemned in parliament for high-treason; certain bulls from Rome having been found at Cowdray, her mansion-house. It was also charged upon her, that the parson of Warblington had conveyed letters from her to her son, Cardinal Reginald Pole, and that she had forbid all her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any new book privileged by the King."

Perhaps the King had other causes of complaint against her. We do not know. But she appears to have behaved with fortitude, to have refused to confess, and to have been sentenced without being heard. On May 27th, 1541, without arraignment or trial, at the great age of seventy-nine, she was carried to the place of execution on Tower Hill, and beheaded there.

Here the House of Plantagenet, so tragic in its destinies, passes out of our history, leaving a vacant place to be filled, after an interval, by the House of Dudley. It is a proper point at which to turn back and say something about the building of Warwick Castle—a branch of the subject which it has been necessary to pass over, while relating, in such detail as the authorities made possible, the history of the Earls of Warwick.

For we have, as a matter of fact, reached a crisis and a turning-point in the history of castles. Hitherto we have found them more useful than

ornamental; henceforward we shall find them more ornamental than useful. The invention of gunpowder, and the consequent invention of siege artillery, was fatal to their military importance. Fire-arms had been used, as we have mentioned, as early as Creçy; but they were only little "bombards," which "with fire threw little iron balls to frighten the horses." Even in the time of Henry V. the guns counted for little, and the wars were mainly wars of sieges. But Edward IV. had a siege-train cast, and we have seen the King-maker using it against Bamborough with great effect; and Henry VII. began his reign with the only siege train in the kingdom in his possession. No baronial castle was now impregnable, and in the course of the ensuing years many such castles were allowed to fall into ruin and decay. Kenilworth has gone, though Kenilworth Castle was a greater place than Warwick Castle in its time. Warwick Castle, in fact, is one of the very few feudal fortresses that still stand and are still used for human habitation. It affords unique facilities for the study of military architecture in the times of the Plantagenet kings, and some glimpses of earlier arrangements.

CHAPTER VI

Architectural Particulars—The Norman Castle—Giffard's Siege—The Edwardian Castle, built by the Beauchamps—The General Principles of Edwardian Castles—The Warwick Gatehouse—Guy's Tower—Cæsar's Tower—The Prison—The Inscriptions—The Curtain Walls between the Towers—The River Gate.

THE Normans, as we have seen, hastily patched up the Saxon castles, postponing the reconstruction of them to a more convenient season. Warwick is one of fifty castles belonging to the reign of the Conqueror that stood upon old sites. There was nothing then unique about it. Even in the Midlands—even in Warwickshire—there were other more important castles. In the reign of Henry I. Kenilworth and Beaudesert Castles appear temporarily to have superseded it. Down to the time of Henry II., as has been already mentioned, the defences, as far as can be ascertained, were chiefly of wood.

The first important event in the history of the Castle is the siege which it sustained in 1265, when Henry III. was King of England and William Mauduit was Earl of Warwick. I have touched upon that operation in the course of my narrative; but I must here revert to it. What happened then is best stated in Spicer's "History of Warwick Castle," from which I quote :—

"An old chronicle says, 'William Mauduit ever held the King's part; wherefore Sir Andrew Giffard by treason took the castell of Warwyke, and for that it should be no strength to the King, he beat with his fellowship down the wall from towere to towere, which, until Earl Thomas's days, afterwards was hedged. He also took the Earl and Countess with him to Kenilworth, and ransomed the Earl to 600 marks, that was justly payde.' The 'Thomas' here referred to was born in the castle. 'He walled the castell of Warwyke, towered it, and gated it'; and his son it was who built Guy's Tower, at a cost of £395 5s. 9d., a considerable sum at that period."

This is not, perhaps, very clear; but the materials available do not make it possible to be clearer. To realise, in any way, what happened, we must picture a castle wholly different from that of to-day, with probably no towers save that on the keep and that at the gateway. The walls between would be plain and massive, with bastions at intervals, but not towers. The living portions would even at that date be near the river, or at any rate some strong works would be there. If the only towers were the gatehouse and keep, it is fairly easy to understand what Giffard did.

He had, at any rate, done enough to render reconstruction necessary. This must have commenced early in the *régime* of the Beauchamps, since the Castle was at the time of the Wolf of Arderne strong enough and secure enough not only to hold Gaveston a prisoner, but to take the steps preliminary to his capture.

From a drawing by William Westall, A.R.A.

THE GATE TOWER WARWICK CASTLE, 1823. FROM THE INNER COURT.

The Beauchamps built the long undercroft, the hall and chapel, the curtain walls, gatehouse, and Guy and Cæsar's Towers, and made the Castle assume an Edwardian form. Of these, Cæsar's Tower was built about 1350; Guy's, the last, in 1394. The Despencer who was guardian of Guy de Beauchamp is said to have demolished much of the walling; but on what evidence I do not know. Other building operations which may be noted here are those of the Duke of Clarence, who is said to have contemplated additions to the walls and to have begun the tower called after his name; of Richard III., who is said to have made extensive alterations, including the commencement of the companion tower to that of Clarence; and of Henry VIII., who had to under-pin the foundations, owing to a landslip on the river-side. Some Exchequer accounts of the last-mentioned reign bearing on the Castle are in existence :—

19 Hen. VIII.	Account of delivery of timber only for repair of the King's tenements in the Borough of Warwick; including 20 oak trees for the repair of the castle mill; the said mill is in sore decay by reason of the great floods that fell last year.		
	Do.	490	15.
1557.	Declaration of decays, etc., in tenements and cottages in Warwick Borough.		
	Do.	490	6
1558.	A similar account.		

For the description of the Edwardian Castle I feel that I have no choice but to quote from the work to which I have already expressed my deep indebtedness—Clark's "Mediæval Military Architecture."

First, as to the walls:—

"The walls of these Edwardian castles varied from 25 to 40 feet in height, and were from 6 to 8 feet thick, or even more to allow of mural galleries. Upon their top was a path called the 'allure' or rampart walk, protected in front by an embattled parapet, and in the rear by lower and lighter walls. Frequently there was a loop in each merlon, and each embrasure was fitted with a hanging shutter. The ramparts were usually reached from the adjacent mural towers, but sometimes, as at Warwick, by an open staircase of stone. Occasionally, where a wall is too slight to allow of a rampart wall, it was in time of war provided with a platform of wood like a builder's scaffold."

Secondly, as to the drawbridge:—

"In its most simple form the drawbridge was a platform of timber turning upon two gudgeons or trunnions at the inner end: when up it concealed the portal, and when down dropped upon a pier in the ditch or upon the counterscarp. Its span varied from 8 to 12 feet. The contrivances for working it were various. Sometimes chains attached to its outer end passed through holes above the portal, and were worked within by hand or by a counterpoise. Occasionally there was a frame above the bridge, also on trunnions. In the larger castles the arrangements were

very elaborate. Sometimes the bridge was the only connexion between the gateway and the opposite pier: at others the parapets or face walls rested on a fixed arch, and the bridge dropped between them."

Thirdly, as to the gatehouse:—

"An Edwardian gatehouse is a very imposing structure. It was usually rectangular in plan, always flanked in front by two drum towers, and sometimes in the rear by two others containing well-staircases. In its centre was the portal arch, opening into a long straight passage traversing the building. Three loops in each flanking tower commanded the bridge of approach, raked the lateral curtain, and covered a point immediately outside the gate. Above the portal was usually a small window, and above that, at the summit, a machicolation set out on corbels, or in its place a sort of bridge, thrown across from tower to tower a couple of feet in advance of the wall, so that a chase or slot was left, down which stones or even beams could be let fall upon those who might be assailing the gate below."

Fourthly, as to the portcullis:—

"The portcullis was an important part of the defence. It was a strong grating, in the smaller gateways of iron, in the larger of oak, strengthened and shod with iron spikes and suspended in grooves by two cords or chains, which passed over two sheaves, or sometimes through a single central block, and either were attached to counterpoises or worked by a winch. The grooves are generally half round with slightly

prolonged sides, 4 to 6 inches broad by from 4 to 7 inches deep. Sometimes the portcullis chamber is a small cell in the wall. Sometimes the grate had no lateral grooves, and must have either hung loose or been steadied by its spikes resting on the ground below. Sometimes grooves are cut for a spare grate, but do not appear to have been armed."

The approach to the portcullis lay through a portal arch "wide enough to admit a wain or three men-at-arms abreast." Behind it was "a door of two leaves opening inwards, and, when closed, held by one or two stout bars of oak, which could be pushed back into cavities in the wall. The vaulting there was pierced with holes, about a foot across, called *meurtrières*."

"These holes," says Clark, "might serve to hold posts to check the entrance of a body of men, or for thrusting pikes down upon them. They have also been supposed to be intended to allow water to be poured down, supposing the passage filled with bushes set on fire, though it is difficult to see how any quantity of water could be obtained, any more than melted lead or pitch, which are spoken of. The first floor of the larger gatehouses contained a handsome chamber with lateral doors leading to the ramparts of the curtain and sometimes to an oratory. The portcullises were worked through the floor, and their tackle must have given an air of warlike reality to the room."

The passages cited outline the picture clearly; but the generalities should, of course, be supplemented by particulars as to our Warwick Castle gatehouse.

The barbican was sometimes a mere walled space attached in front of the gateway, and sometimes a *tête du pont* posted at the end of the bridge away from the main work. Here at Warwick the barbican nearly resembles that at Bridgenorth, and is really a subordinate gate. It has a central archway, guarded with a double row of *meurtrières*, with a heavy portcullis, still in use, and double doors. The entrance is flanked by drum towers, containing basement chambers for the winch by which the portcullis is raised and lowered, and pierced with loops for defence. The second chamber has small lights, and it is studded on the exterior with heavy iron hooks, on which woolsacks were suspended for defence during the Royalist siege. Two short newel stairs reach the interior rooms from the leads, but not through the drum towers, and the whole is crenelated and flanked by the archers' galleries of the gatehouse above and from the merlons of the curtain wall.

The gatehouse proper is joined to the barbican by curtain walls on north and south, both with *allures*. In the south wall is a second shallow recess, defended by a second portcullis and an arch with broad soffit containing a double row of *meurtrières*.

Behind these was a lighter gate, supported on double hinges and with the usual double leaves; and behind this a vaulted roof of two bays, the ribs rising from elegant corbels.

The porters' or warders' room is on the north, and is of two and a half bays, with simple vaulting rising

From a photograph by H. N. King.

GUY'S TOWER BRIDGE, AND OLD GATEWAY, WARWICK CASTLE.

from corbels carved with either foliage or masks. The window is formed by the angle of the interior turrets, and is also vaulted.

On the opposite side is an open archway into the court, with a small chamber in the tower base on the right and a stair on the left, which winds round a newel to the leads. This has blocked loops on the south, which show it to be of earlier date than the building (the dairy) now erected against it. There also a door leads to the barbican leads, and is matched by another on the north, while another gives access to the *allure* on the south curtain. The stair, meanwhile, ascends through several small chambers to the gatehouse leads.

There is a second stair on the north side, rising from the *allure* of the north curtain.

The leads here have corner square towers, those on the outside altered in shape by a broad *chamfer* at the north-east and south-east angles. These towers are connected by stone bridges supported on segmental arches, and have gargoyles with spouting to carry off the rain-water. All these are loopholed to flank attacks on the bridge gate and *allures*, even the inner works, and they are all embattled.

The turrets form small chambers for archers, and are vaulted in stone.

The tower is used for the clock, which has faces both inside to the courtyard and outside.

The bell is old, and inscribed : THIS ✠ BELL ✠ WAS ✠ FOVNDED ✠ FOR ✠ WELCNOCK ✠ ANNO ✠ DOMINI ✠ 1606.

The whole building dates from the middle of the fourteenth century.

We may pass on to the towers.

Guy's Tower is dodecagonal in shape, rising from the inner court to an imposing height.[1] Its basement, and indeed every stage, is occupied by a triple set of rooms—a large space well lighted in the centre, and cells on either side for defenders, separated by a strong dividing wall with narrow doorways. In the side rooms are small lockers in the wall, and loopholes commanding the direct and flanking attackers. The central room in the base is divided into three bays, separated by complete arches and with simple cross-ribs. The fireplace is in the eastern dividing wall.

Twenty-seven steps lead to the first stage: this has transomed windows in the north and south, and in the side rooms three loops commanding the various walls. This is now the Muniment Room. Steps lead to the second stage similar to that below, and, like it, vaulted in stone in two bays. Twenty-seven steps lead to the third stage, which is like the second. Twenty-seven steps lead to the fourth stage, which has six large square *crenelles* and as many heavy angled walls between. The roof is simply vaulted in a hexagon, the ribs meeting in the centre. Twenty-two steps lead upward to the leads, the newels rising into fan tracery and covered by a turret. A second stair leads downward to the *allure* on the north curtain. In part of this the battlement is machicolated out on corbels to

[1] Ninety-three feet from courtyard to parapet.

give the defenders power to attack. The covering roof was probably conical. The basement of the tower is revetted out.

The building was erected by Thomas, Earl of Warwick, in 1394, at a cost of £395.

Cæsar's Tower, formerly called the Poictiers Tower, and said to have been built between 1350 and 1370, situated at the south-east corner of the base court, rises to a height of 106 feet from its rocky basement in Mill Lane to its first parapet. It is one of the strongest and most elegant towers in England. It is an irregular polygon, the machicolations at the summit boldly corbelled out, and the general figure on the exterior forms three segments of a circle.

The tower was constructed to command the passage of the river, which was here crossed by an ancient packhorse bridge of thirteen arches, widened to twice its original breadth in 1375. The reconstructed bridge consisted of seven arches, of which only the second and fifth remain; it formed the south gate of the town, and was itself defended by earthworks. The new bridge, of one span, was built in 1790, and the same year the old bridge gave way under the pressure of a flood.

The basement of the tower is, as we have said, of solid rock. An entrance from the courtyard leads by steps to the level of the Castle prison. This prison is below the courtyard by some twenty-seven steps, but not below the level of the Mill Lane. It is 17 feet 4 inches long by 13 feet 3 inches wide, and 14 feet 6 inches high. There are inscriptions on the walls.

Many miserable prisoners have scrawled the words "Jesu Mercy" there. Among other records of their sufferings are the following :—

> Maſter : Iohn : Smyth : Gvner : to : his :
> maiestye . highnes : was : a Prisner in this
> Place : and lay here . from 1642 tell th
>
> William Sidiate rot this same
> and if my Pen had Bin beter for
> his sake I wovld have mended
> everri letter.
>
> Maſter 1642 3 4 5
> Iohn : Smyth Gvner to h.
> maieſtys : highnes was
> a priſner in this Place
> In : the · yeare of ovr l
> ord 1642 : 3 4 5
> miserere
> ihs mary
> ihs mio.

Between the two towers run the curtain walls. They were, necessarily, the weakest portion of the defences; but they are high and of great thickness.

On the eastern side they join Guy's Tower to the gatehouse and the gatehouse to Cæsar's Tower. To the former access is gained by an exposed flight of steps from Guy's Tower on to the *allure*, which is of considerable breadth, and defended by a stone parapet, each merlon pierced with a loophole, skewed

on the interior to afford several angles to fire from, while presenting but a small cruciform aperture to attack. The embrasures were closed with hanging shutters, and certain of the merlons were utilised as garde-robes for sanitary purposes.

The *allure* itself was paved, and the walls on the inside show a double series of corbels to support the temporary hoardings used in a siege, for giving ready access to all parts, and providing stores for ammunition.

The gatehouse is reached from this curtain by a flight of steps, leading to the vice in its north-east turret.

The weakest part of the enceinte was the long stretch of curtain from Guy's Tower to the mound. It commenced at Guy's Tower, running almost straight to a pair of ruined towers, or possibly unfinished towers, now called the Bear and Clarence. It is not impossible that it was this portion that was broken down by Giffard and the Kenilworth men in the siege of 1265, when the walls were demolished from tower to tower, and the Castle and Earl captured. Just before the easternmost of these two towers the *allure* descends a long flight of steps to the lower level. These are reached by a newel from the courtyard.

The wall between the towers is pierced with a gateway, wide, depressed, and so totally indefensible that it must be at least as late as Restoration under the first Lord Brooke, if not yet more modern.

The heptagon tower (nearest Guy's Tower) is now entered through a door on the exterior, leading through a pointed arch into a basement, *viz.* a plain

vaulted room, with three circular *crenelles* and a rectangular one, thus defending all the angles of approach. There is a chimneypiece and locker in its western wall.

From this base an unfinished or ruined stair leads to the upper portions, which I believe were ruined in Lord Brooke's time, and restored with merlons and embrasures to suit the rest of the work.

On leaving the second tower, which corresponds with the former, but has a broader flight of steps to the *allure*, the curtain ascends gradually to the mound and rises in steps. In this portion a considerable difference in the thickness of the wall arrests attention. The original line of building is left, and an obtuse angle formed by the union of a thin wall pierced with a broad arch, cut probably early in the nineteenth century to form a carriage way in connection with the former entrance in Castle Street which is now bricked up. As soon as the earthen rampart begins to rise, the wall resumes its former thickness and antiquity.

The river gate occupies the south-west corner of the courtyard, at the junction of the south-west curtain wall and the mound. It was rebuilt almost from the foundations by Sir Fulke Greville, and has had modern repairs, but generally speaking has followed the original plan. From the river-side the tower appears to be of four stories, the lowermost occupied by a basement polygonal in form. This is entered by a double pointed arch with a false portcullis groove and no door: the original must have had both. This entrance is flanked by angled turrets (rectangles with their outer edges

chamfered off, making rough pentagons). The southern turret meets the main wall by forming an angle, panelled and corbelled out at some height from the ground, with a pentagonal bastion.

The tower between the turrets is lighted by a pair of shouldered rectangular windows, and one of larger size in the succeeding story, and over this a pointed window of plate tracery, which seems to be a modern innovation, or, if copied from earlier work, would have been a replica of Fulke Greville's copy of a thirteenth-century window.

The flanking turrets are lighted by narrow loops, and the merlons of the parapet are loopholed.

The second story of this gate is reached from the basement by twenty-one steps, leading to a second basement on the level of the courtyard—a groined heptagon, the ribs meeting in the centre, where there is a boss with a plain shield. This has a small porch. From the courtyard the entrance, as before, is flanked by a pair of similar towers, but only one window, and that of thirteenth-century design, appears in the upper portion.

A solid wall supporting a masked passage joins this gateway to the main building.

Such were the architectural features of the Castle in the period which has been passed under review. We shall have to return to the subject later, in connection with the reparations and extensions effected by Sir Fulke Greville. But for the present this will suffice.

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF DUDLEY

CHAPTER I

The Policy of Henry VII.—The Assistance given him by Edmund Dudley—The Pedigree of Edmund Dudley—His Descent from the House of Sutton—Dudley and Empson—Bacon's Scathing Account of their Proceedings—The Arrest of Dudley—His Conviction of High Treason—His Book in Favour of Absolute Monarchy—His Execution—An Estimate of his Character.

IT has been shown that the accession of Henry VII. marked an epoch in the history of castles; henceforward they could always be battered down, if need were, by the royal train of siege artillery.

The same date marks, not less clearly, an epoch in the history of the baronage. The Wars of the Roses had changed the face of things in more than one respect; and not the least of these results had been the destruction of the baronage by internecine strife. The feudal lords had spent a considerable term of years in slaying one another alike on the battle-field and on the scaffold. The wars had been their wars, and not the people's. The merchants of the towns had, with rare exceptions, remained neutral in the strife; and the towns had, in consequence, been spared.

Philip de Commines, observing the wars with the impartial eye of a foreigner, notes that "there are no buildings destroyed or demolished by war," and that "the mischief falls on those who make the war." And that is to say that the mischief fell upon the barons. On the one hand, trade had been flourishing; and the traders, through their intimate commercial relations with Flanders and Burgundy, had been acquiring wealth. On the other hand, the barons had fought together until the baronage, as a collective force, had ceased to be. The weight of their armour, hindering their flight, no less than their courage and ferocity, had made them the principal sufferers in the cases of defeat and massacre; and nearly every defeat had been followed by a bloody assize. Few of them, whether Yorkists or Lancastrians, had survived the slaughter; fewer still survived without the dissipation of their resources, if not the confiscation of their estates.

In this new condition of things the monarchy had nothing to fear from them; and it happened that a succession of strong kings kept them in the place to which circumstances had reduced them. Edward IV. was a strong king. So was Henry VII.; and so, in a still greater degree, was Henry VIII. We no longer hear, therefore, of the barons standing up to the kings and wresting reforms from them. The strong rule of an absolute sovereign was naturally preferred by the trading classes to the lawlessness of the feudal system. The barons, therefore, were

From a picture in the Castle by Canaletto.

WARWICK CASTLE, 1746.

dependent upon the royal favour for the position that they enjoyed. Such insurrections as they raised, being no longer on the old scale, furnish no real exception to this rule. For a revolution backed by a principle, we have to wait until the reign of Charles I.; and that revolution was effected, not by the barons, but by the House of Commons.

Henry VII. was jealous of the military households of the barons. These had been forbidden by Edward IV. in the Statute of Liveries; but that statute had not been universally obeyed. Henry VII. enforced it even against his own most valued friends. His devoted adherent the Earl of Oxford entertained him, and he found two lines of retainers in livery drawn up for his ceremonious reception. "Thank you for your good cheer, my lord," he said; "but I must not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And the attorney spoke with the Earl of Oxford, and fixed his penalty at a fine of £10,000.

The extortion of money from his subjects on one pretext or another was, indeed, the one fixed principle of Henry VII.'s policy; and it is in connection with the carrying out of this policy that our attention is first arrested by the name of Dudley, in the person of the notorious Edmund Dudley. In the history of the reign no names are more notorious than those of Empson and Dudley. They are names associated hardly less closely than those of Marshall & Snelgrove or Swan & Edgar in these modern times.

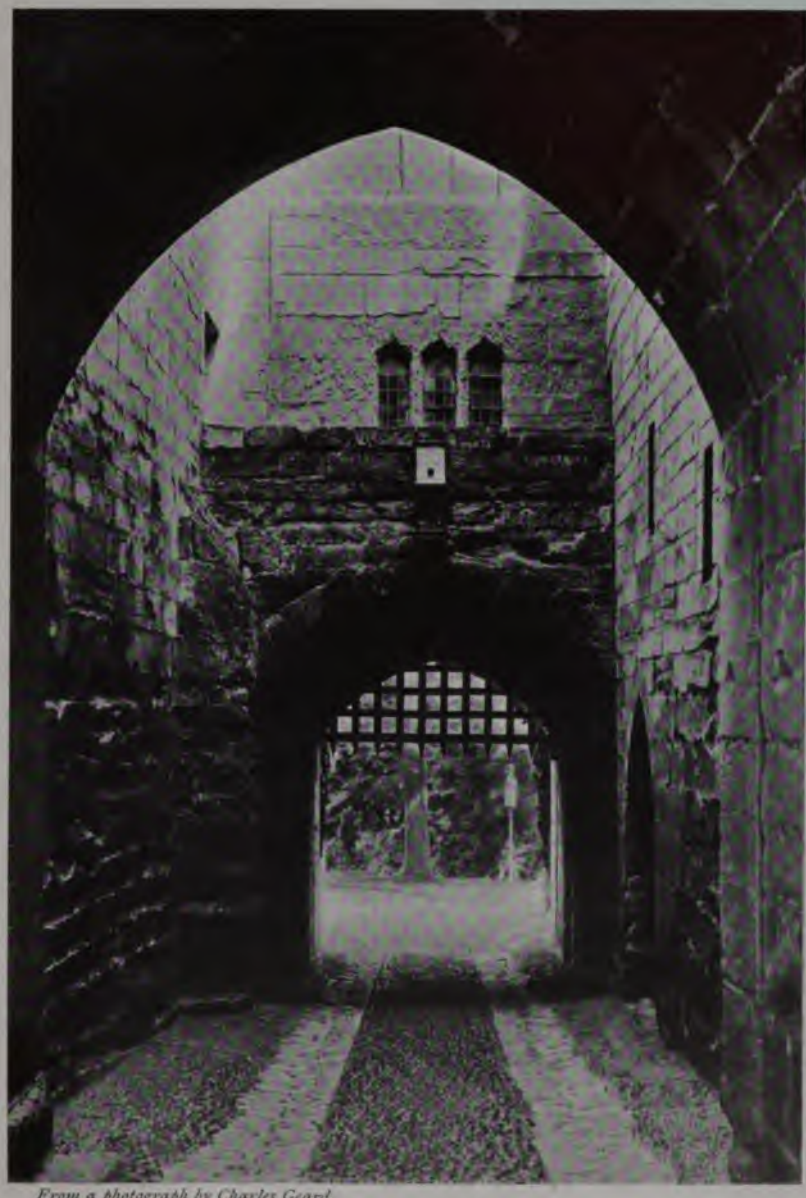
The family history of this Edmund Dudley has been the subject of acrimonious debate. Sampson Erdeswicke, the sixteenth-century historian of Staffordshire, makes him out to be the son of a carpenter. This is the argument quoted in Twamley's "History of Dudley Castle":—

"This Edmund was the son of one John Dudley, which the duke would needs have (for so I have heard Somerset, *i.e.* Robert Glover, Somerset herald) say that he saw a descent, wherein the duke with his own hand had put it down, that he was the second son of John Sutton, fifth baron of Dudley, of the Suttons' race, and brother of the first Edward; but, whether he was so or not, I will not take upon me to dispute, being of myself ignorant, except by hearsay and report; for I heard it by one who took upon him to be of good credit (while he lived) that the said John, father of Edmund, was a carpenter, and, indeed, born in the town of Dudley, but not of the name, other than travelling for his living, and happening to be entertained at work in the abbey of Lewes, in Sussex, where (growing into favour with the abbot) he was appointed carpenter to the house, and there married, and (after the manner as the monks used) was called John of Dudley, not because his name was so, but because he was born in Dudley town; and having by his wife this Edmund, who was taken into the house, and there brought up at school, and proving a towardly child, and apt to learn, the abbot having scholars' rooms in the university, this Edmund was

placed into one of them. And, after the abbot, having suits at law, and finding this young scholar ingenious and wise, took him from the university, and placed him at the Inns of Court, where he maintained him, and used him as a solicitor, to follow the suits of the house; which he not only did sufficiently and well, but also so studied the laws of this land, that he became very well learned in them, and so was brought into favour of King Henry the Seventh, whereby he was advanced in manner I have before spoken of."

This story, however, is of doubtful authenticity, though it was long believed. "The discovery of his father's will," says the writer of the Life contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography," "practically establishes his pretensions to descent from the great baronial family of Sutton *alias* Dudley." Accepting this view, we may, still following the "Dictionary of National Biography," trace the Dudley pedigree from much earlier times.

We begin with one John de Somery, Baron of Dudley, "owner of the castle and lordship of Dudley, Staffordshire, which had been in his family since an ancestor married, in Henry II.'s time, Hawyse, sister and heiress of Gervase Paganell," who "became Baron of Dudley in virtue of a writ of summons which was issued on the meeting of each Parliament summoned between 1308 and 1322." His sister and co-heiress, Margaret, married one John de Sutton I. He had a son, John de Sutton II., who died in 1359. There succeeded, in lineal succession, John de Sutton III.



From a photograph by Charles Geard.

THE MAIN GATEWAY AND PORTCULLIS, WARWICK CASTLE.

who was dead in 1370; John de Sutton IV., who died in 1396; John de Sutton V., who died in 1406; and John de Sutton VI.

John de Sutton II. was summoned to sit in Parliament by a writ of February 25th, 1341-42, in which he is described as Johannes de Sutton de Duddeley; but the Suttons III., IV., and V. did not receive this honour. The sixth John de Sutton did, the writ of February 15th, 1439, entitling him Johannes Sutton de Dudley. Hence he is generally regarded, by Dugdale and other authorities, as the first Baron Dudley of the Sutton family. The title continued to be borne, and the writs of summons continued to be received, until the line failed by the death of the fifth baron, who had survived his heir, and only left illegitimate male posterity, on June 23rd, 1643.

This first Baron Dudley was a man of some considerable distinction. He bore the royal standard at the funeral of Henry V., and under Henry VI. was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1428 to 1430, and was afterwards sent as ambassador to Brittany and Burgundy. In the Wars of the Roses we find him on the Lancastrian side. He was taken prisoner at the first battle of St. Albans and sent to the Tower; and he was wounded at the battle of Blore Heath. Edward IV., however, accepted his apologies, granted him a hundred marks from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall and £100 from the customs of the port of Southampton, and sent him to France, with the Earl of Arundel, on a diplomatic mission in 1477-78.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of Edward Charlton, last Lord Charlton of Powys, died in 1487, and left four sons. Of these, Edmund died in his father's lifetime (though he left issue to which the title passed); William became Archdeacon of Middlesex, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Prebendary of Wells, Bishop of Durham, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford; Oliver was killed at the battle of Edgcote; and John is believed to have been the father of the Edmund Dudley with whom we are now occupied.

John Dudley, whose will, as we have said, establishes Edmund Dudley's identity, was sheriff of the county of Sussex in 1485. He lived at Atherington, in Sussex, and married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas or John Bramshot, of the same county. Of Edmund Dudley we know nothing of importance, except that he went to Oxford, until we find him studying law at Gray's Inn, where the Dudley arms were emblazoned on one of the windows of the hall. Polydore Vergil says that his legal knowledge attracted the notice of Henry VII. on his accession, and that he was made a Privy Councillor at the age of twenty-three. However that may be, preferment came to him rapidly. In 1492 he was employed in negotiating the Peace of Boulogne; in 1497 he was, if Stow may be trusted, Under-Sheriff of London; in 1504 he became Speaker of the House of Commons; in 1506 he was made Steward of the Rape of Hastings. But his fame, or infamy, reposes on his association with Sir Richard

Empson in carrying out Henry VII.'s plans for extorting money, by illegal processes, from his subjects.

The precise *locus standi* of these two extortioners is difficult to define. Polydore Vergil calls them *fiscales judices*; and Mr. Sidney Lee says that they "probably acted as a sub-committee of the Privy Council," and "certainly were not judges of the Exchequer nor of any other recognised court." As regards their proceedings, no cold-blooded summary can do justice to these. It is better to print the strenuous indictment of Bacon, who wrote with a full knowledge of the intricacies of the law of the period.

"And as the Kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour than for their service and honour," says Bacon, "he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley; whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers: bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done; putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being lawyers in science and privy councillors in authority, (as the corruption of the best things is the worst) turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes; and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them; and

From a photograph by H. N. King.

THE RIVER FRONT, WARWICK CASTLE.

nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer; but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

"Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and conven them before themselves and some others at their private houses, in a court of commission; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury; assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown and controversies civil.

"Then did they also use to inthral and charge the subjects' lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisins, and alienations, (being the fruits of these tenures); refusing (upon divers pretexts and delays) to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law.

"Nay the King's wards after they had accomplished their full age could not be suffered to have livery of their lands without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates.

"They did also vex men with information of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

"When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums;

standing upon the strict point of law, which upon utlawries giveth forfeiture of goods. Nay contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the King ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of utlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) conven them, imprison them, and fine them.

"These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; but raked over all old and new statutes; though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than rigour; ever having a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command; so as they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation."

Naturally the performances described in this vigorous language were not productive of popularity. The son of the baron and the son of the sieve-maker, having enabled their royal master to amass about four and a half millions in coin and bullion, became the best-hated men in the kingdom. Nor was the popular outcry likely to be diminished by the fact that Dudley, by the sale of offices and extra-legal compositions, had pulled into the Treasury about £120,000 a year. He

and his associate needed all the protection that their royal protector could afford them.

They were safe during Henry VII.'s lifetime; but Henry VIII. did not attempt to shield them. He yielded to the clamour and sent them to the Tower. It transpired that, while Henry VII. was lying on his death-bed, Dudley had asked his friends to attend him in London in arms in the event of his decease. In all probability he only took this step in self-defence. He had every reason to fear that there would be a riot, and that the rioters would endeavour to do him grievous bodily harm. The Court, however, chose to see in his action a plot against the life of Henry VIII.

The King himself, probably disbelieving in the plot, and meaning to show indulgence, postponed the execution. Dudley, to give him a pretext for indulgence, spent his captivity in writing a political treatise in favour of absolute government, entitled "The Tree of Commonwealth." There are MS. copies in the Chetham Library, Manchester, and in the British Museum; and the book was privately printed at Manchester by the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross in 1859, but the copy intended for the King never reached him. Dudley, despairing of pardon, tried to escape from the Tower. The attempt failed, however; and the outcry against him continuing, he and Empson were sent together to execution on Tower Hill, after more than a year's incarceration, on August 18th, 1510.

The summing up of his character is not an agreeable

task, for his character was thoroughly bad; and though he may have had redeeming qualities, all trace of them has been lost. For the policy which he helped Henry VII. to carry out, there is this to be said: that the only way of preserving the peace of the realm was to keep the great landowners from becoming too powerful, and that there was no better way of doing this than to collect feudal dues with rigour and regularity. But that was only the beginning of the policy. It proceeded to and ended in the miserly accumulation of a hoard by irregular and arbitrary means. In the pursuit of these practices Edmund Dudley was Henry VII.'s right-hand man. And he not only did very well for his master; his will, of which there is a copy in the Record Office, shows that he did very well for himself. Posterity will hardly pardon his offences because he bequeathed a small portion of his ill-gotten gains for the maintenance of poor scholars at Oxford. He will be remembered as the most sordid servant of the most sordid of the English kings.

CHAPTER II

Edmund Dudley's Family—Andrew Dudley—John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland—The List of his Honours and Offices under Henry VIII. and under Edward VI.—His Military Achievements at Boulogne, at Pinkie, and at Dussindale—His Rivalry with Lord Protector Somerset—His Acquisition of Dudley Castle—John Knox's Candid Opinion of him.

EDMUND DUDLEY was twice married. By his first wife, Anne, sister of Andrew, Lord Windsor, and widow of Roger Corbet, of Morton, Shropshire, he had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married William, sixth Lord Stourton, and so passes out of this history. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, and co-heiress of her brother John. She bore him three sons, named John, Andrew, and Jerome.

Of Jerome nothing of consequence is to be recorded. Andrew was more notable. He was Admiral of the Northern Seas; he was knighted by Somerset in 1547; he was Keeper of the Wardrobe of Edward VI., and Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, and Captain of Guisnes, where he quarrelled with Lord Willoughby, Deputy of Calais, as to the extent of his jurisdiction, and a Knight of the Garter; he was commissioned in 1552 to make a survey of Portsmouth. We shall meet him again when we come to treat of the attempt to make the Lady Jane Dudley Queen of England.

For the moment we have to concentrate our attention upon John Dudley, who became not only Earl of Warwick, but also Duke of Northumberland, by which latter title history knows him best.

John Dudley was probably, though not certainly, born in 1502. His father, as we have seen, was executed and attainted, when he was eight; but at the age of eleven he was restored in blood by Act of Parliament, the attainder being repealed—a proof that Henry VIII. did not really bear malice against the man whose head he had cut off. He hardly could, seeing that he derived great profit from Edmund Dudley's evil deeds, and did not himself propose to be scrupulously deferential to the law, when he wanted to raise money—as witness his exaction of benevolences and his spoliation of the religious houses.

The career of John Dudley was synchronous with the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.—a period to which we shall have to return in connection with the ancestors of later Earls of Warwick of the houses of both Rich and Greville. He was made Earl of Warwick in 1547 and Duke of Northumberland in 1551. These titles, however, were only a few of his distinctions. There is, perhaps, no better way of giving a bird's-eye view of his position in the Tudor world than to recite the long list of the honours and offices conferred upon him.

His accumulated title at the end of his life was Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Warwick, Viscount Lisle, Baron de Malpas, Somery, Basset

of Drayton, and Tyes, Lord of Dudley, Knight of the Garter. He had been—I follow the chronological order through without peppering the page with dates—Lieutenant of the Spears of Calais; Joint Constable of Warwick Castle and Town; Keeper of Goodcrest Manor and Wedgnock Park; Master of the Armoury in the Tower; Sheriff of the County of Stafford; Chief of the Henchmen to Henry VIII.; Deputy Governor of Calais; Master of the Horse to Queen Anne of Cleves; Member of Parliament for the County of Stafford; Lord Warden and Keeper of the King's Marches towards Scotland; Great Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, Calais, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine; Privy Councillor; Lieutenant and Captain-General of Boulogne; Seneschal of the Boulonnais; and Ambassador to Paris.

All that in the reign of Henry VIII. The list for the reign of Edward VI. is longer. In that reign we find John Dudley Joint Executor to King Henry VIII.; a Commissioner for the Trial of Henry, Earl of Suffolk; a Commissioner of Claims for the Coronation; Great Chamberlain of England; High Steward of Warwick; Joint Commissioner to treat with the French Ambassadors; Privy Councillor; Lieutenant and Captain-General in the Northern Parts; President of the Council of Wales; Lieutenant of the Counties of Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Norfolk; Great Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales; Master of the Game and Master Forester of Enfield Chase; Lord Great Master of the Household;

Lord President of the Council; High Steward of Great Yarmouth; Lord Warden General of the North; Governor of the County of Northumberland;

After the picture by Holbein.

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND EARL OF WARWICK.

Warden of the East, Middle, and West Marches towards Scotland; King's Justice and Lieutenant for the Counties of Warwick, Oxford, Stafford, North-

umberland, and Cumberland, and the towns of Newcastle and Berwick-on-Tweed; Constable of Beaumaris Castle and Captain of Beaumaris; Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; High Steward of Cambridge, of the East Riding of the County of York, of Holderness and Cottingham; Keeper of Scrooby Manor and Park; Joint Visitor of Eton College; Steward of all Honours, Castles, Manors, and Lordships in the Counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, York, and Durham; Steward of the Bishopric of Durham; and Lord Lieutenant of the Bishopric of Durham.

It is a long list, and a list that sounds remarkably well when read aloud. Perhaps during the former of the two reigns John Dudley was not quite so important as it might appear to indicate. Some of his functions were purely ornamental, as when, at the meeting of the King with Anne of Cleves, at Blackheath, he led that Princess's spare horse, trapped to the ground in rich tissue. Other names at this period stand out more prominently than his—the names, for instance, of Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas More—Dudley's duties being more executive than administrative.

His feats of arms, however, were considerable, though they were not achieved in battles of which the names are household words. He was a child at the time of the Battle of the Spurs, in 1513; but he was with the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, in the expedition to Scotland in which

Edinburgh was burnt to the ground ; and Nichols, in his "Literary Remains of Edward the Sixth," takes a retrospective survey of his notable doings in France in 1544.

"John Dudley, Earl of Warwick" (we there read), "was a Man of ancient Nobility, comely in Stature and Countenance, but of little Gravity or Abstinence in Pleasures, yea, sometimes almost dissolute, which was not much regarded, if in a time when Vices began to grow into Fashion, a great Man was not over severe. He was of a great Spirit, and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any Mischief the Means of attaining his ambitious Ends. Hereto his good Wit and pleasant Speeches were altogether serviceable, having the Art also, by empty Promises and Threats, to draw others to his Purpose: In Matters of Arms he was both skilful and industrious, and as well in Foresight as Resolution present and great. Being made Lord Lieutenant of Bulloine, when it was first taken by the English, the Walls sore beaten and taken, and in very Truth scarce maintainable, he defended the Place against the Dauphin, whose Army was accounted to consist of 52,000 men; and when the Dauphin had entered the base Town, not without Slaughter of divers of the English, by a brave Sally, he cast out the French again, with the Loss of above 800 of their men, esteemed the best Soldiers in France. The Year next ensuing, when the French had a great Fleet at Sea for Invasion of England, he was appointed Admiral, and presented Battle to the French Navy;

which they refused, and returned home with all their Threats and Cost in vain. Hereupon he landed 5,000 Men in France, fired Tréport, and divers Villages thereabouts, and returned to his Ships with the loss only of one Man. To say Truth, for Enterprises by Arms, he was the Minion of that Time, so as few Things he attempted but he achieved with Honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increased both in Estimation with the King, and Authority among the Nobility, doubtful whether by fatal Destiny to the State, or whether by his Virtues, or at least by his Appearances of Virtues."

It was the reign of Edward VI., however, that was the important period of John Dudley's life. In that reign he became at once prominent and unpopular. The victory of Pinkie, in 1547, was chiefly won by him; and in 1549 he put down the agrarian rising of Ket the Tanner, at the battle of Dussindale. A seditious leaflet of the time, entitled "The Epistle of Poor Pratte to Gilbert Potter," shows that men were disposed to give him an ugly nickname:—

"I have (faythfull Gilbard) scattered abroad thre of the bokes more, and two also have I sent into the ragged beares campe. Kepe that close which thou hast; the world is daungerous. The great devell, Dudley, ruleth; (duke, I shuld have sayd): wel, let that passe, seing it is oute, but I truste he shall not longe. I have proved, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in some straunge letter, and so a nomber of them to be disparsed abroade."

THE WATER-TOWER, WARWICK CASTLE.

Dudley's only formidable political rival at this period was Lord Protector Somerset; and with Somerset he dealt successfully. At a meeting of his friends at his house in Ely Place it was averred that Somerset was in rebellion against the King; and Somerset was duly despatched to the Tower. In the Tower Somerset continued to intrigue; and this time he was tried for plotting against Dudley's life, and brought in due course to the scaffold. Then Dudley had no rival whom he could not afford to despise, and took over the Great Seal from Lord Chancellor Rich, the ancestor, by a curious coincidence, of our next series of Earls of Warwick.

It was at this period that he had a genealogical tree compiled to establish his descent from the House of Sutton, and purchased Dudley Castle from the then

head of the Sutton family, under circumstances which, if Dugdale's account of the transaction can be trusted, were very far from creditable to him. This is what Dugdale says in his "Baronage":—

"It is reported, by credible Tradition, of this John Lord Dudley; that, being a weak man of understanding, whereby he had exposed himself to some wants, and so became entangled in the Usurers Bonds: John Dudley, then Viscount Lisle, and Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) thirsting after Dudley-Castle (the chief seat of this Family) made those Money-Merchants his Instruments, to work him out of it; which by some Mortgage being at length effected, this poor Lord became exposed to the Charity of his Friends for a subsistence; and spending the remainder of his life in Visits amongst them, was commonly called the Lord Quondam."

Another proof of Dudley's increasing unpopularity, in some circles at all events, may be found in his quarrel with John Knox, the great Scottish Reformer. He had been a good friend to that truculent pulpiteer, and had even tried to get him a bishopric. But on December 7th, 1552, we find him writing that he thinks Knox "neither grateful nor pleasable," and we also find Knox returning the compliment with interest. The language is vigorous, though the sentences are involved; and the general tenor of the discourse is clear enough:—

"But yet ceassed not the Devell to blowe hys wynde, but by his wicked instrumentes founde the meanes, how, against nature, the one broder should

assent to the death of the other[1]: and fynding the same instrumentes apt enough whose labours he had used before, he blewe suche mortal hatred betweene

From an old print.
THE LADY MARY DUDLEY, AFTERWARDS THE WIFE OF SIR HENRY SIDNEY, AND THE MOTHER OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

two which appeared to have bene the chief pillers under the Kinge: for that wretched (alas!) and miserable Northumberlande could not be satisfied tyl such tyme as symple Somerset most unjustlye was bereft of his lyfe.

[1] Alluding to the sacrifice of Lord Seymour of Sudeley by the Duke of Somerset.

"And who, I pray you, ruled the rooste in the courte all this tyme by stoute corage and proudnes of stomack but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under Kynge Edwarde, ruled all by counsel and wyt? shall I name the man? I wil wryte no more plainly now then my tongue spake the last sermon that it pleased God that I should make before that innocent and most godly Kynge Edward the Syxte and before his counsell at Westminster, and even to the faces of such as of whom I ment. Entreatynge this place of scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem, sustulit adversus me calcaneum suum*, that is, 'He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heele against me,' I made this affirmacion, That commonlye it was sene, that the most godly princes hadde officers and chief counseilours most ungodlye, conjured enemies to Goddes true religion, and traitours to their princes. Not that their wickednesse and ungodlynesse was spedely perceyved and espied out of the said princes and godly men, but that for a tyme those crafty colourers would so cloke their malice against God and his trueth, and their holowe hartes towarde their loving maisters, that, by worldly wysedome and pollicie at length they attained to high promotions."

Thus hedged about by enemies, John Dudley proceeded to lay the plot that was destined to undo him. He was great and powerful, but not so great and powerful as one of his predecessors in the Warwick Earldom. It would appear that the laurels of the King-maker did not suffer him to sleep.

CHAPTER III

John Dudley's Children—The Family Conspiracy in Favour of Lady Jane Dudley—The Death of King Edward and the Failure of the Plot—The Treatment of the Conspirators—"The Saying of John, Duke of Northumberlande, uppon the Scaffold"—His Character—His Son, John Dudley, who succeeded him, but died soon after his Release from the Tower.

BY his wife, Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Guilford, John Dudley had five sons and two daughters. The sons were John, known in his father's lifetime as Lord Lisle and Earl of Warwick; Ambrose, subsequently Earl of Warwick; Robert, who was to become very famous as Earl of Leicester; Lord Guilford Dudley; and Lord Henry Dudley, who fell at the battle of Saint Quentin. The daughters were Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother of Sir Philip Sidney; and Catherine, who married Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. In the plot now to be related, Northumberland had the support of all his sons, as well as of his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley.

The excuse for the plot was loyalty to the principles of the Reformation. But John Dudley was only a time-serving reformer; and his real object was obviously the aggrandisement of his own house. According to the will of Henry VIII., the Princess Mary stood next to Edward VI. in order of succession to the

throne; but the Princess Mary was a bigoted Roman Catholic, and England under Edward VI. was a Protestant country. That might have been a good reason for refusing to allow her claims, and passing on to the nearest Protestant claimant; but John Dudley decided to pass a good deal further than that.

He induced the young King, who was entirely under his influence, to sign letters patent for the "limitation of the crown." The limitations provided for were peculiar and extensive, and explicable by no motive save a single-hearted desire to benefit the House of Dudley. The Princess Mary was excluded, not as a Catholic, but as a "bastard"; the Princess Elizabeth was excluded for the same reason. The descendants of Henry VII.'s elder sister, Margaret, who had married James IV. of Scotland, were excluded because they were not mentioned in the will which it was proposed to set aside. Next in order came Frances, Lady Grey, daughter of Henry VII.'s younger daughter, Mary, by her marriage with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Lady Grey, however, was passed over in favour of her eldest daughter, Jane; and the plot was completed by the celebration of a marriage between Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guilford Dudley, who brought his wife to live in the Dudleys' London house. There was opposition to the marriage; but Dudley, by his truculent violence, overbore it.

The marriage took place on May 21st, 1553. Simultaneously—and presumably with the view of further consolidating the Dudley influence—Lady Jane's

sister Catherine married Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Guilford's sister Catherine married Lord Hastings, son of the Earl of Huntingdon. On July 6th Edward VI. died, and then Dudley's power was put to the test. The summary of the events of the next few days may be borrowed from Mr. Sidney Lee's concise narrative in the "Dictionary of National Biography":—

From an old print
THE LADY JANE GREY, WHO WAS WEDDED TO LORD GUILFORD DUDLEY.

"No public announcement was made till 8 July. On the evening of the 9th Northumberland carried Lady Jane before the Council, and Ridley preached in favour of her succession at St. Paul's Cross. Lady Jane swooned when informed by the Council that she was Edward's successor. On 10 July she was brought in a barge from Sion House to the Tower of London, pausing on her way at Westminster and Durham House. After taking part in an elaborate procession which passed through the great hall of the

Tower, Lady Jane retired with her husband to apartments which had been prepared for her. Later in the day she signed a proclamation (printed by Richard Grafton) announcing her accession, in accordance with the statute 35 Henry VIII. and the will of the late King, dated 21 June. Orders were also issued to the lords-lieutenant making a similar announcement, and despatches were sent to foreign courts. These were signed 'Jane the Quene.' Public proclamation of her accession was, however, only made at King's Lynn and Berwick. On 9 July the Princess Mary wrote to the Council declaring herself Edward VI.'s lawful successor. On the 11th twenty-one councillors, headed by Northumberland, replied that Lady Jane was Queen of England. On 12 July Lord-treasurer Winchester surrendered the Crown jewels to the new Queen Jane (see inventory in Harl. MS. 611), and on the same day she signed a paper accrediting Sir Philip Hoby as her Ambassador at the Court of Brussels. Lord Guilford Dudley, Lady Jane's husband, claimed the title of king; but Lady Jane declined to admit the claim, and insisted on referring the matter to parliament."

Meanwhile, the eastern counties had risen as one man for the cause of the Princess Mary. John Dudley decided to march against them with an army of ten thousand men; but he seems to have started in a despondent frame of mind. "The people" (*i.e.* the Londoners), he noted, "crowd to look upon us, but not one calls 'God speed ye.'" He lost his nerve, retired to Cambridge, and let himself be arrested.

Suffolk, meanwhile, had also thrown up the sponge, told his daughter to retire into private life, and proclaimed Queen Mary at the gates of the Tower.

Never before in English history had a serious pretender been so rapidly disposed of; and the reason why is not far to seek. The people in general had no particular objection to Lady Jane Dudley, about whom they knew very little; but they had the strongest objection to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, about whom they knew a great deal. Under his *régime*, as under that of the Lord Protector Somerset, there had been iniquitous misrule. Roman Catholics had been persecuted beyond all decency and reason; the Oxford library, for instance, had been scattered to the four winds of heaven on the ridiculous ground that the books contained in it were papistical. The Treasury had been depleted, and the coinage had been debased; while favourites had been enriched. John Dudley, like Edmund Dudley, had used his tenure of power to line his pockets. The objection to be ruled over by a nominee of the Dudleys, with a Dudley for royal consort, was instinctive. Consequently the plot collapsed like a house of cards; there was not even anything worthy to be called a civil war.

In the matter of retributive justice the so-called Bloody Mary behaved, on the whole, more mildly than might have been expected. Even the innocent usurper, after pleading guilty of high treason, would almost certainly have been pardoned, had not her father once again proclaimed her Queen at Leicester,

and the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the desertion to him of the Duke of Norfolk's train-bands, given the impression that she was still dangerous. Sir Thomas, in fact, was within an ace of "rushing" London. If Mary had only been a little less energetic in appealing to the loyalty of the citizens at the Guildhall, he would have crossed Southwark Bridge, and her reign would have been over. After that, it is not surprising that she decided on the decapitation of Lord Guilford and Lady Jane Dudley, who died together on February 12th, 1554. Even so she pardoned Lord Guilford Dudley's brothers. The only member of the family whose pardon could not even be contemplated was the arch-plotter, John, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland.

He, indeed, had already been hurried to the block within a month of his arrest, and had made a very unedifying end. His dying speech and confession was an ignominious recantation of the Protestant opinions which he had for years avowed, and a cowardly declaration that "others" had "induced" him to his treasonable courses. Under the title of "The Saying of John, Duke of Northumberlande, uppon the Scaffolde," it was printed by "John Cawood, printer to the Queenes highness" soon after his death. I give it here:—

"Good people, all you that be here presẽt to see me dye. Though my death be odvouse and horrible to the flesh, yet I pray you judge the beste in goddes workes, for he doth all for the best. And

Reproduced from Mr. William Robertson Dick's "Inscriptions and Devices in the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London," by the kind permission of Mr. Dick, the author and artist.

AN INSCRIPTION BY JOHN DUDLEY (ELDEST SON OF JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND), IN THE BEAUCHAMP TOWER, TOWER OF LONDON.

The device consists of the family crest—the lion, bear, and ragged staff—which is surrounded by a border containing sprigs of oak, roses, geraniums, and honeysuckle, emblematical of the Christian names of his four brothers: Ambrose, Robert, Guilford, and Henry. Beneath are the lines:—

"Yow that these beasts do wel behold and se
May deme withe ease wherfore here made they be
Withe borders eke wherin
4 brothers names who list to serche the grovnd."

The third line may be finished "*there may be found.*"

as for me, I am a Wretched synner, & have deserved to dye, and moste justly am condemyned to dye by a law. And yet this acte Wherefore I dye, was not altogether of me (as it is thoughte) but I was procured and induced thereunto by other. I was I saye induced thereunto by other, howbeit, God forbyd that I woulde name any man unto you, I wyll name no man unto you, (& therefore I beseche you loke not for it).

"I for my parte forgeve all men, and praye God also to forgeve thē. And yf I have offended anye of you here, I praye you and all the worlde to forgeve me: and moost chiefly I desire forgevenes of the Quenes highnes, whome I have most grevousliye offended. Amen sayde the people. And I pray you all to witnes with me, that I depart in perfyt love and charitie with all the worlde, and that you wyl assiste me with youre prayers at the houre of death.

"And one thinge more good people I have to saye unto you, which I am chiefly moved to do for discharge of my conscience, & that is to warne you and exhorte you to be ware of these seditiouse preachers, and teachers of newe doctryne, which pretende to preache Gods worde, but in very deede they preache theyr owne phansies, who were never able to explicate thē selves, they know not to day what they wold have to morowe, there is no stay in theyr teaching & doctryne, they open the boke, but they cannot shut it agayne. Take hede how you enter into strañge opinions or newe doctryne, which hath done no smal

hurte in this realme, and hath justlye procured the ire and wrath of god upon us, as well maye appeare who so lyst to call to remembraunce the manyfold plages that this realme hath ben touched with all synce we dissevered oure selves from the catholyke church of Christ, and from the doctryne whiche hath ben receaved by ŷ holy apostles, martyrs, and all saynctes, and used throughe all realmes christened since Christ.

"And I verely beleve, that all the plagues that have chaunced to this realme of late yeares synce afore the death of kynge Henrye the eyght, hath justly fallen upon us, for that we have devyded our selfe from the rest of Christendome whereof we be but as a sparke in comparisõ. Have we not had warre, famyne, pestylence, ŷ death of our kinge, rebellion, sedicion amonge our selves, conspiracies? Have we not had sondrye erronious opiniõs spronge up amonge us in this realme, synce we have forsakẽ the unitie of the catholyke churche? and what other plagues be there that we have not felt?

"And yf this be not able to move you, then loke upon Germanye, whiche synce it is fallen into this scysme and division from the unitie of the catholike church is by continuall dissention and discorde, broughte almoost to utter ruyne & decaye. Therefore, leste an utter ruyne come amonge you, by provokynge to muche the juste vengeañce of God, take up betymes these contentions, & be not ashamed to returne home agayne, and joyne youre selves to the rest of Christen realmes, and so shall you brynge your selves againe

to be membres of Christes bodye, for he cānot be head of a dyfformed or monstruous body.

"Loke upon your crede, have you not there these wordes: I beleve in the holy ghost, the holy catholik churche, the communiõ of saynctes, which is the universall number of all faythfull people, professynge Christe, dispersed throughe the universall worlde; of whiche number I trust to be one. I could bryng many mo thinges for this purpose, albeit I am unlearned, as all you knowe, but this shall suffice.

"And heare I do protest unto you good people, moost earnestly even from the bottome of my harte, ẏ this which I have spoken is of my selfe, not beyng required nor moved therunto by any man, nor for any flattery, or hope of life, and I take wytnes of my lord of Worcestre here, myne olde frende and gostely father, that he founde me in this mynde and opinion when he came to me: but I have declared this onely upon myne owne mynde and affection, for discharge of my conscience, & for the zeale and love that I beare to my naturall countreye. I coulde good people reherse muche more even by experience that I have of this evyl that is happened to this realme by these occasions, but you knowe I have an other thyng to do, wherunto I must prepare me, for the tyme draweth awaye.

"And nowe I beseche the Quenes highnes to forgeve me myne offences agaynst her majestie, wherof I have a singular hope, forasmuch as she hath already extended her goodnes & clemency so farre upon me

that where as she myghte forthwith without judgement or any further tryall, have put me to moste vyle & cruell death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I was in the feild in armes agaynst her highnesse, her majestie nevertheles of her most mercyfull goodnes suffred me to be brought to my judgement, and to have my tryall by the lawe, where I was most justly & worthelye condempned. And her highnes hath now also extended her mercye and clemencye upon me for the manner and kynde of my death. And therefore my hoope is, that her grace of her goodnes wyl remyt al the rest of her indignation and displeasure towardes me, whiche I beseche you all moost hartely to praye for, and that it may please God longe to preserve her majestie to reigne over you in muche honour and felicitie. Amẽ, sayd the people.

"And after he hadde thus spoken he kneeled downe, sayinge to them that were about: I beseche you all to beare me wytnesse that I dye in the true catholyke fayth, and then sayde the Psalms of *Miserere*, and *De profundis*, and his *Pater nostre* in Latin, and sixe of ŷ fyrste verses of the psalme, *In te domine speraui* endynge with this verse, Into thy handes O lorde I cõmend my spirite. And when he had thus finished his prayers, the executioner asked him forgevenes, to whom he sayde: I forgeve ŷ with all my harte, and doo thy parte without feare. And bowynge to warde ŷ block he sayd, I have deserved a thousand deaths, and ther upon he made a crosse upon the strawe,

and kyssed it, and layde his heade upon the blocke, and so dyed."

Decidedly nothing in John Dudley's life became him less than the leaving of it. But for the closing scene he might have passed for a brave man, if not for a good man. As it is, he forfeited the admiration even of the Puritans, who might have pardoned him for enriching himself by the plunder of the Church; and can only be classed as a sorry simulacrum of the King-maker, who was presumably his model. His motto—"Ung Dieu, ung Foy, ung Roy"—was singularly ill-chosen. It is recorded in the Grey Friars' Chronicle that "all the people reviled and called him traitor, and would not cease for all they were spoke unto for it"—which, indeed, was the treatment that he merited.

His son John, who succeeded him, may be very briefly dismissed. His only public appointment seems to have been that of Master of the Horse. The only other notable fact about him is that Sir Thomas Wilson dedicated to him his "Arte of Rhetorique." He died ten days after his pardon for complicity in Lady Jane Dudley's usurpation. His wife, whom he married at Sheen, the King being present at the ceremony, was Anne, ninth daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and eldest daughter of Somerset's second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope. She subsequently married Sir Edward Unton, K.B., by whom she had seven children; but John Dudley died without issue, his heir-at-law being his next brother, Ambrose.

CHAPTER IV

Ambrose Dudley—His Imprisonment and Release—His Exploits at Saint Quentin and Exemption from the Act of Attainder—His Appointments—His Command against the French at Havre—His Appointment as Commissioner for the Trial of Mary Queen of Scots—Her Special Appeal to his Sense of Justice.

THE date of the birth of Ambrose Dudley is uncertain, but it seems probable that he was born in 1528. From 1546 to 1549 we find him styled Ambrose Dudley, Esquire. He was knighted before December 20th, 1549, and created Baron Lisle and Earl of Warwick in December, 1561.

His public services began in the reign of Edward VI. He then was not only a prominent figure at Court tournaments and other festivities, and on intimate terms with the King and his younger sister, Princess Elizabeth, but also served with his father, the Duke of Northumberland, in the war against the Norfolk rebels. It was presumably for his services in that connection that he got his knighthood. His complicity in the Lady Jane Grey conspiracy has already been mentioned. He was committed to the Tower on July 25th, 1553, convicted of treason, with his brothers Henry and Guilford, on November 13th in the same year, but pardoned and set at liberty, after about fifteen months' imprisonment, on October 18th, 1554.

In spite of the Act of Attainder against his family, he was not destitute, since in 1555 he became Lord of Hale Owen by his mother's death. As a Protestant he could hardly have expected his position at home to be comfortable; but Mary went to war with France, as the ally of her husband, Philip of Spain, and so he found his chance of foreign service.

It was one of the least glorious wars in all our English annals. Perhaps it was not entirely a disadvantageous war to us, since sorrow for the loss of Calais, which resulted from it, is said to have brought the Bloody Mary prematurely to her grave. But the military honours were all with the Duc de Guise, whose insolent statues now salute the eye at every turn in Calais town. He recovered "the brightest jewel in the English crown," as people called it, and then took Guisnes, which was our last possession on French soil; and the English people became so disgusted with their Queen that they would not help her to recover the lost territory, and did not care whether the word "Calais" would be found graven on her heart, after her death, or not. So long as she died, the rest was a detail of no consequence.

The Dudleys, however, distinguished themselves at the siege of Saint Quentin. Henry Dudley lost his life there, as we have seen. Ambrose Dudley (who held the rank of captain) and Robert Dudley were rewarded for their gallantry by exemption from the Act of Attainder in which all the family had been involved. That was on March 7th, 1557. In

Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick.

Seal & Autograph of Ambrose E of Warwick.

From the original, formerly in the possession of John Thane.

1558 Queen Mary died without issue, and Queen Elizabeth succeeded her. Her friendship stood Ambrose Dudley in good stead, and opened the door of favour and preferment. The dawn of the day of advantages was marked by the grant of the Manor of Kibworth Beauchamp, in Leicestershire, and the office of Chief Pantler at coronations; and when the fountain of honour had once begun to flow on him it flowed freely.

He became successively Master of the Ordnance; a Knight of the Garter; an M.A. of Cambridge; an M.A. of Oxford; Master of the Buckhounds; Chief Commissioner of Musters in the County of Warwick; Joint Commissioner of Musters in London; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Warwick and the City of Coventry; Chief Butler of England; Lieutenant of the Order of the Garter; Chief Commissioner of the Musters in the Counties of Warwick, Stafford, Northampton, Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham; Keeper of Hatfield Wood or Great Park and Middle Inninge and Lanley Parks; High Steward of the Manor of Grafton; Master Forester of Whittlewood and Salcey Forests; Keeper of Grafton Park and Chase and Hartwell Park; Chancellor and Chamberlain of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth; and High Steward of St. Albans. All this apart from the commissions and appointments which gave him his definite place in English history. He also played his part in the French war and in the drama of which the central figure was Mary Queen of Scots.

The two stories are really two parts of one story. Mary Queen of Scots was the Roman Catholic claimant to the English throne, in virtue of her descent from Henry VII.'s sister, Margaret. Her

From an old print.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was one of the Commissioners at her trial.)

marriage with the Dauphin, as well as her religious opinions, acquired her the countenance and even the active support of France. Therefore it was necessary to fight France; and after the French had been got

out of Scotland by the Treaty of Edinburgh, the Huguenot rising under Admiral Coligny suggested a diversion on French soil. The Huguenots had got possession of Havre, and offered to surrender that town to Elizabeth if she would send them help. She sent an expedition there, with Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in command.

The expedition was a failure, though the blame can hardly be laid upon the shoulders of the general. He did well enough until the Protestants and Catholics came to terms and requested him to evacuate the town. This, acting on instructions, he refused to do. Then the citizens plotted his assassination, and he turned them out, with the result that Catholics and Protestants joined forces to besiege him. Even so it was not the French army but the outbreak of a pestilence that beat him. His garrison endured the plague for three months, dying like flies, but still holding their own. At last Warwick obtained leave to surrender, and the capitulation took effect on July 29th, 1563. He was hit by a poisoned bullet while in the act of discussing the terms on the rampart, and suffered from the effects of the wound for the remainder of his life. His army came home, bringing the plague with them, and spreading it all over England.

This was the end of the alliance between the French and the Scots. The assassination of the Duc de Guise and the personal enmity between Mary Queen of Scots and Catherine of Medicis did more

than any feat of English arms to terminate it. But Mary Queen of Scots had not, for that reason, ceased to be dangerous. Her next contrivance was to appeal to the English Catholics. It was to concentrate their allegiance that she married Darnley, who, as the grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage with the Earl of Angus, stood next to her in the order of succession. The match was a challenge to English Protestantism, and gave the greater offence in England because there had been talk of a marriage between her and the Earl of Warwick. The indignation was deepened by the sense of danger. The leading Scottish Protestants were driven over the Border, and the loyalty of the northern counties of England was undermined. "Her friends were so increased," an ambassador wrote to Mary, "that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains named by election of the nobility."

The danger was real, but the conduct of Mary Queen of Scots averted it. The murder of Darnley began the alienation of the affections of her subjects, though her complicity in the crime was not established. Her marriage with Bothwell, the murderer, completed it. Her agent in England warned her. "If she married that man," he wrote, "she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland, and Scotland." But she persisted, and her people rose. Her brother, the Earl of Murray, came back to assume the Regency, and she was taken as a prisoner to Lochleven Castle.

She escaped from Lochleven, crossed the Solway in a small boat, and came to Carlisle. While Elizabeth and her advisers were considering what should be done with her, there were Catholic risings and intrigues, in which were implicated, among others, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Lord Dacre of Naworth, and the Duke of Norfolk. The Duke of Norfolk, at all events, was found to have been in treasonable correspondence with Philip of Spain. These designs were duly checked, and the Queen of Scots remained for some years in more or less comfortable captivity. She was tired of it, and was willing to sign any agreement, if only she might be released. "Let me go," she wrote to Elizabeth, "let me retire from this island to some solitude, where I may prepare my soul to die. Grant this, and I will sign away every right which either I or mine can claim."

This, however, was at the time when the preparations for the Great Armada were proceeding. Instead of being released, Mary Queen of Scots was, as is well known, brought to trial before a Commission of Peers at Fotheringay Castle. The Earl of Warwick was one of the Commissioners. From one of Lord Kenyon's MSS., under the title of "The Conference or Commyssone between the Quene of Scottes and the Lordes, concerninge the examinacion," I copy some passages in which his name appears:—

1586. "Upon Wednesdaie, the 12 of October, the Lordes Commissioners for hearinge the Scottishe Quene came to the Castle of Fotheringhey, in the

County of Northampton, aboute nyne of the clocke in the morninge, at which houre, in the chappell of the said castle, the Deane of Peterboroughe preached before them. From the sermone, they wente to the Counsell, in the Counsell Chamber of the same house, and from thence sente Sir Walter Myldmaye and Sir Amias Pawlette, Governoure of the house, to the Scottishe Quene, to knowe whether shee woulde appeare or no. There was allso delivered unto her a letter from her Majestie, to that effecte." [She refused to appear all that day and Thursday, but on Friday she appeared about nine o'clock. Below the bar sat such gentlemen as came to see the action, and among those on the right side was the "Earle of Warwicke."]

THE GATE-HOUSE, WARWICK CASTLE.

Then, in the account of the second day's hearing, we read :—

"Shee said unto the Earle of Warwicke that shee hard hee was an honourable gentleman, desiringe him not to beleve all thinges that hee hard of her, desiringe him to comende her to my Lord of Leycester, sayinge that shee wished him good successe in all his affaires."

The passage bears testimony to the mildness and sweet reasonableness of Ambrose Dudley's character—a character which earned him the popular designation of the Good Lord Warwick. But it was not to be expected that the appeal would save Mary Stuart. She was foredoomed to death. At last, after much hesitation, real or feigned, Elizabeth signed the death-warrant of her beautiful and unfortunate rival, and the tragedy of Fotheringay was played to its dramatic close. Of Mary, like her ill-fated grandson, Charles I., it may be truly said, that if she did not know how to reign, at least she knew how to die, and surely by her death she wiped out all her failings.

But we have anticipated the chronological order of events, and must turn back to other incidents in Ambrose Dudley's life. The most interesting of them is his reception of Queen Elizabeth at Warwick Castle.

CHAPTER V

The Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Warwick—Extracts from the Account of the Ceremonies in the Borough and the Festivities at the Castle given in "The Black Book of Warwick."

"SPLENDOUR and pleasure," says John Richard Green, "were with Elizabeth the very air she breathed. Her delight was to move in perpetual progresses from castle to castle through a series of gorgeous pageants, fanciful and extravagant as a caliph's dream."

The date of the visit to Warwick Castle was 1572.[1] It is the first of the royal visits about which really detailed information is available. Before proceeding to give our account of it, we may fitly pause and attempt to draw some sort of a picture of the town of Warwick as it appeared in the Elizabethan age. This has been very well done by Mr. Thomas Kemp in the introduction to his edition of "The Black Book of Warwick,"[2] from which I will quote:—

[1] There had been a previous visit, but no particulars of this are discoverable.

[2] "The Black Book of Warwick" is a MS. preserved among the archives of the borough, containing a record, unfortunately not quite continuous and complete, of municipal doings from the time of Queen Elizabeth to that of James II. The more interesting portions of it were published, some years ago, in the *Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine*. A more complete transcription, with an admirable historical introduction, was made by Mr. Thomas Kemp, sometime mayor of the town, and published by Messrs. Henry T. Cooke & Sons, the well-known Warwick booksellers, in 1898. This is the transcription that I have used. My debt of gratitude to Mr. Thomas Kemp is great.

Warwick Castle

"The main thoroughfares and chief features of Warwick in the 16th century were much the same as they are now. Although the great fire of 1694 destroyed a large portion of the town, as well as the nave of St. Mary's Church, there are still enough of the old houses remaining to show us what the Warwick of that day was like. Near to the present Court House in Jury Street, which probably occupies the site of the old one, there stood a cross, which is often referred to as the High Cross or simply the Cross. If any one will stand at this spot with his back to the Court House he will have Church Street and St. Mary's Church facing him; on his right down Jury Street he will see one of the old gates of the town, viz. the East Gate, with St. Peter's Chapel above it; on his left up High Street, called in Elizabeth's days High Pavement, he will see another gate, the West Gate, with St. James's Chapel above it. Both these gateways, at the time of the commencement of the Black Book, were in a ruinous condition, and most of the town walls were down. The North Gate, which stood in Northgate Street, had even at that time disappeared. The Castle stood for the South Gate. The beautiful Chancel of St. Mary's, the Vestry and Chapter House, and the Beauchamp Chapel were much the same as at present. Opposite to the Chapter House a door, now filled up by a cupboard, led into the Chancel, and the screen dividing the lobby from the Vestry was not then pierced for a doorway. In the south-

From a painting by Zuccaro in the National Portrait Gallery. *Photo by Walker & Cockerell.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Painted about the time of her visit to Warwick Castle.

east angle of the South Transept there was a circular staircase leading to an organ loft at the west end of the Beauchamp Chapel. The body of the Church, which covered nearly the same area as the existing one, consisted of nave, aisles and transepts, of shallower projection than the present ones, the nave having four bays, and being lighted by six clerestory windows, and in the walls of each aisle were three windows. The transept windows were large and handsome, and somewhat similar to the Chancel east window. At the east end of the South Aisle stood the large altar tomb, with canopy over, of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who built the nave in the latter half of the 14th century, and of his Countess, but this was destroyed in the great fire. The brass effigies which were on the tomb however survived, and are now placed against the east wall of the South Transept. St. Mary's was then, as now, sometimes called the High Church, either from its position on the top of the hill, or from its being the principal Church in the town. The Tower was lower than the present one, and over the South Porch there was a room, which had been once occupied by John Rous, the Warwickshire Antiquary, who died in 1491, and was buried in St. Mary's. The Tower appears to have contained a peal of eight bells. St. Nicholas' Church, possibly as old as St. Mary's, was pulled down and re-built in 1779. Our information with regard to old St. Nicholas' is very meagre, as there are no plans or drawings extant, except the

distant view in Hollar's view of Warwick, in Dugdale, and in some other old engravings. It consisted, in Elizabeth's reign, of nave, chancel, and west-end tower and spire, and had a north porch. In the churchyard there was a cross. The Tower contained a clock and bells, which were continually being repaired. A bell was rung at 5 o'clock in the morning, and at 8 o'clock at night. The Church roof was of shingles, *i.e.* thin pieces of wood instead of tiles, which were frequently renewed. The Chancel was also roofed with shingles.

"The Priory, on the north side of the town, now the residence of S. S. Lloyd, Jun., Esq., was then a modern building, occupying the site however of a very old ecclesiastical establishment. In a westerly direction from the North Gate ran a street called Walldyke. In the Saltisford, in a decayed condition, stood St. Michael's Church. The remains of this building, consisting of the east and west gables, the walls, and a portion of the roof, now form part of a blacksmith's forge. Going westwards from St. Mary's, we pass through the Old Square, and reach the Market Place. In Elizabeth's time the Old Square was called Pibble Lane, and in it were Oken's Almshouses: these were destroyed by the great fire, and were re-built adjoining Eyffler's houses on the Castle Hill. In the Market Place there stood a Booth Hall, in which were shops let to tenants for terms as long as 21 years, and somewhere near to the spot which the Market Hall and Museum now occupy there were the remains of St. John the Baptist's Church, even

then a ruin, of which no vestige now remains. In the Market Place, also, stood the pillory, and the stocks. Towards the north side there was a Market Cross, which was afterwards pulled down by Colonel Purefoy during the Civil War between Charles I. and the Parliament. Close by here was Horse Chipping on the Horse Market. Turning down Brook Street, then called Cow Lane, at the lower end of which was the Rother Chipping or Beast Market, we come to the Leycester Hospital, which presents the same appearance now as it did in Elizabeth's reign, although even at that time it was of respectable age, having being built in the latter half of the 14th century. Close to this is the West Gate. Somewhere near to West Street stood St. Lawrence's tithe barn. From the south side of the West Gate ran a lane called Britten Lane, in which were several barns and gardens. From the West Gate the street runs straight to the East Gate. Beyond this gate is Smith Street, in which stood another tithe barn. Turning southward from the East Gate, and going down Castle Hill, we come to Mill Street, which is full of ancient half-timbered houses; at the bottom of this street, which runs down to the Avon, the river was spanned by a bridge of many arches, spoken of as the great bridge, and now a picturesque ruin. Over this bridge we come to Bridge End, which was once a more populous suburb of Warwick than at present, and turning to the left the road leads to Myton; it was over this bridge that Queen Elizabeth rode when she entered Warwick;

it was over this bridge also that the Bailiff and his company passed, when they went to Myton to vindicate the law, as described in the account of the Myton riots. As the road over this bridge was the highway to London, it must have been a place of some traffic, and the noble owner of the Castle in Elizabeth's days would see from the Castle windows the pack-horses bringing goods to the houses of Thomas Oken and other tradesmen in the town, and altogether gaze upon a busier scene than that presented to the view of the present Earl and Countess. From the bottom of Mill Street another street, Castle Street, led up by the Castle walls to the High Cross before mentioned. In no part of Warwick have there been so many changes as about the old bridge, consequent on the building of the present bridge, the enlarging of the Castle grounds, and the diversion of the road to the Asps, which took place about 100 years ago. The Castle in Elizabeth's days was more open to the town, and nearer to the boundary than at the present time, as the wall enclosing the grounds was then almost close to the moat. By this wall ran a road which joined Castle Street near to Guy's Tower, and at this point a gate opened into the grounds, from which there was an approach to the Castle gateway. Part of Castle Street, and other land within the town, were added to the Castle grounds, as before mentioned, by George, Earl of Warwick, at the end of the last century. The gateway between the Bear Tower and Clarence Tower appears to have been opened since Elizabeth's time. The

Castle Park then consisted of fields, which were enclosed by George, Earl of Warwick, at the same time that he built the present Castle Bridge, or contributed the greater part of the cost of its erection, and formed the lake, known as the 'New Waters,' and diverted part of the Banbury and London Road. This road ran across part of the present park, and crossed ground now covered by the New Waters. Along this road came Queen Elizabeth, when she visited Warwick in 1572, and on the side of the New Waters, farthest from the town, is Ford Mill Hill, where she was met by the Bailiff, as described in the Black Book. Turning northwards from the East Gate we are in the Butts, where stood then Butts for the practice of Archery."

The population of Warwick at this period is computed by Mr. Kemp at 2,600. The borough returned two burgesses to Parliament, one of whom appears to have been the nominee of the Earl of Warwick. It was governed by a bailiff and twelve principal burgesses, with an equal number of assistants. These assessed the amount which each citizen was to pay to the relief of the poor; it ranged from a half-penny to a shilling a week. The town had a Grammar School at the Burgh Hall, now the Leicester Hospital.[1] Rents ranged from two shillings a year for a cottage to thirty shillings a year for a good-sized house. There were various inns: "in all probability there was a good

[1] The foundation of the Earl of Warwick's brother, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

hostelry on or near to the site of the present Warwick Arms in High Street," and "a Cross Tavern near to the High Cross," and "somewhere in the town an inn with the sign of the Unicorn." Vagrants were much in evidence :—

"There seem to have been a good many men and women tramping about in search of work, as people from all parts of the county as well as from Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and other counties were brought up before the magistrates and examined as to their means of support. These examinates included the scholar who made his moan to the Vicar, the travelling doctor, the man who journeyed from place to place with a false passport, and the common vagrant, who was sent to the stocks for a day and a night as a rogue. The ruffian also, the drunkard, the common thief, the Sabbath-breaker, and the recusant, who absolutely refused to go to the Church, were all features in Elizabethan Warwick. There were also a considerable number of beggars, both men and women and children, about the town."

And market day was, much more than at the present time, a great and notable occasion :—

"By the Charter of Philip and Mary, Tuesday and Saturday were appointed market days ; and so on these days buyers and sellers came from all the villages round about to Warwick Market ; they came even from villages and places some distance away, as among the licenses to people to sell and buy wheat, rye, barley, etc., in the market, and to badgers, *i.e.* men who bought corn

or grain to sell again for profit, licenses were given to people from Tanworth, Coleshill, Minden, Minworth, Northfield, and King's Norton; and it is curious and interesting to notice that licenses were granted to people from Birmingham and our neighbour borough of Leamington, then the little village of Priors Lemington. On these market days proclamations, if any, were made from the High Cross, and criminals were publicly whipped about the Market Place. The market tolls were collected, as they are at the present day, by the Sergeant-at-Mace, who was an officer appointed each year by the bailiff on his entering upon his term of office. There appears to have been a considerable fair on St. Bartholomew's Day, when a nag could have been bought for 16s. or 17s., and an ox for £3. There was also a fair on St. Simon's and St. Jude's Day."

Such was Warwick when Queen Elizabeth came to visit it. Our account of the visit must be taken from the above-mentioned "Black Book," though I will take the liberty of modernising the spelling and also of introducing some stops. The original, not being punctuated, is confusing.

"Be it remembered," we read, "that in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred seventy and two, and in the fourteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, the twelfth day of August, in the said year, it pleased the said sovereign lady to visit this Borough of Warwick. Whereof the Bailiff of the Borough and the principal Burgesses being

advised by the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, the said Bailiff and principal Burgesses aforestated, with some other of the commoners, after the election of Edward Aglionby to be their Recorder, in place of Mr. William Wigston, Knight, prepare themselves, according to their bounden duty, to attend her Highness, at the uttermost confines of their Liberty, towards the place from whence her Majesty should come from dinner, which was at Ichington, the house of Edward Fisher, being six miles from Warwick, where it pleased her Highness to dine the said 12th of August, being Monday. The direct way from whence leading by Tachbrook, and so through Myton field, it therefore was thought convenient, by the said Bailiff, Recorder, and Burgesses, to expect her Majesty by the gate

From a picture formerly in the possession of John Thane.

ANNE DUDLEY, COUNTESS OF WARWICK, THE THIRD WIFE OF AMBROSE DUDLEY.

between Tachbrook field and Myton field. Nevertheless, the weather having been very foul long time before, and the way much stained with carriage, her Majesty was led another way through Chesterton pastures, and so Okely, and by that means came toward the town by Ford Mill; whereof the said Bailiff, Recorder, and Burgesses having word, they left their place afore taken and resorted to the said Ford Mill Hill, where they were placed in order, first the Bailiff, then the Recorder, then every one of the Burgesses in order kneeling. And behind Mr. Bailiff kneeled Mr. Griffyn, preacher. Her Majesty, about three of the clock, in her coach, accompanied with her Lady of Warwick,[1] in the same coach, and many other ladies and lords attending,—namely, the Lord Burghley, lately made Lord Treasurer of England; the Earl of Sussex, lately made Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty; the Lord Howard of Effingham, lately made Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England; the Earl of Rutland; the Earl of Huntingly [for Huntingdon], lately made President of the North; the Earl of Leicester, Master of the Horse; and many other bishops, lords, ladies, and great estates,—approached and came as near as the coach could be brought."

The speech must certainly be given at length, though with the same modifications. It breathes the spirit of the period. Here it is:—

"The manner and custom to salute princes with

[1] Ambrose Dudley's third wife, Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, whom he married in 1565.

public orations hath been of long time used, most excellent and gracious sovereign lady,—begun by the Greek, confirmed by the Roman, and by discourse of time continued even to these our days. And because the same were made in public places, and open assemblies of Senators and Councillors, they were called, both in Greek and Latin, panegyrics. In these were set forth the commendations of Kings and Emperors, in the sweet sound whereof, as the ears of evil princes were delighted by hearing their undeserved praises, so were good princes, by the pleasant remembrance of their known and true virtues, made better, being put in mind of their office and government. To the performance of these orations of all the three styles of Rhetorick or figure speech the highest was required. Which thing considered, most gracious lady, it abasheth me very much to undertake this enterprise, being not exercised in these studies, occupied and travelling in the common and private affairs of the country, and your Highness' service here. The Majesty of a Prince's countenance, such as it is reported to have been in Alexander, in the noble Roman Marius, in Octavius the Emperor, and of late time in the wise and politic prince King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather, and in your noble and victorious father King Henry the Eighth, whose looks appalled the stout courages of their beholders,—the same also remaining in your Highness, may soon put me both out of countenance and remembrance also. Which if it happen, I most humbly

beseech your Highness to lay the fault there rather than to any other my folly or want of good regard of my duties, who could not have been brought to this place if the good will which I have to declare both mine own dutiful heart towards your Highness and theirs also who enjoined me this office had not far surmounted the fear and disability which I felt in myself.

"But the best remedy for this purpose is to be short of speech. Which I intend to use in this place, having spoken a few things touching the ancient and present estate of this borough, and the joyful expectation which the inhabitants of the same have of your Grace's repair hither. For if I should enter into the commendation of the divine gifts of your royal person, of the rare virtues of your mind, ingrafted in you from your tender years, of the prosperous achievement of all your noble affairs, to the contentation of your Highness and the wealth of your Dominions, I should rather want time than matter to be tedious to your Highness, when I should, both to myself and others, have seemed so scant in praises.

"And yet, if we should forget to call to remembrance the great benefits received from God by the happy and long-desired entrance of your Majesty into the imperial throne of this realm, after the pitiful slaughter and exile of many of your Highness' godly subjects, the restoration of God's true religion, the speedy change of wars into peace, of dearth and

famine into plenty, of our huge mass of dross and counterfeit money into fine gold and silver, to your Highness' great honour, whose prosperous reign hath not been touched hitherto by any troublous season (the rude blast of one insurrection except, which, being soon blown over and appeased by God's favour, hath made your happy government to shine more gloriously, even as the sun after dark clouds appeareth more clear and beautiful)—if this, I say, were not remembered, we might seem unthankful unto God, unnatural to your Majesty: Of which thing I would say more if your Majesty were not present, but I will leave, considering rather what your modest ears may abide than what is due to your virtues, thanking God that he hath sent us such a prince indeed, as the noble Senator Caius Plinius truly reported of the good Emperor Trajanus, calling him in his presence, without fear of flattery, *Castum sanctum et deo simillimum principem.*

"But to return to the ancient estate of this town of Warwick. We read in the old writings and authentic chronicles the same to have been a city or walled town in the time of the Britons, called then Carwar; and afterwards in the time of the Saxons that name was changed into Warwick. We read also of noble Earls of the same—namely, of one Guydo or Guy, who, being Baron of Wallingford, became Earl of Warwick by marriage of the Lady Phyllis, the sole daughter and heir of that house in the time of King Athelstan, who reigned over this land about the year

of our Lord God 933. We read also that it was endowed with a bishop's see, and so continued a flourishing city, until the time of King Ethelred, in whose days it was sacked and burnt by the Danes, and brought to utter desolation—the common evil of all barbarous nations overflowing civil countries, as may appear by the famous cities and monuments of Germany, France, and Italy, defaced and destroyed by the Goths, Vandals, Normans, and Huns.

"Since this overthrow it was never able to recover the name of a city,—supported only of long time by the countenance and liberality of the Earls of that place, especially of the name of Beauchamp, of whom your Majesty may see divers noble monuments remaining here until this day—whose noble services to their Princes and country are recorded in histories in the time of King Henry the Third, King Edward the First, Second, and Third, and so on until the time of King Henry the Sixth, about whose time that house, being advanced to Dukedom, even in the top of his honour failed in heirs male, and so was translated to the House of Salisbury, which afterwards decayed also. And so this Earldom, being extinct in the time of your Highness' grandfather King Henry the Seventh, remained so all the time of your noble father, our late dread sovereign King Henry the Eighth, who, having compassion of the pitiful desolation of this town, did incorporate the same by the names of Burgesses of the town of Warwick, endowing them also with

possessions and lands to the value of £4 3s. 4d. by year, enjoining them withal to keep a Vicar to serve in the Church, and divers other Ministers, with a Schoolmaster for the bringing up of youth in learning and virtue.

"The noble Princess, Queen Mary, your Highness' sister, following the example of her father in respect of the ancientness of the said town, by her letters patent augmented the corporation by creating a Bailiff and twelve principal Burgesses, with divers other liberties and franchises, to the advancement of the poor town and the perpetual fame and praise of her goodness, so long as the same shall stand. Your Majesty hath graciously confirmed these letters patent, adding thereunto the greatest honour that ever came to this town since the decay of the Earls Beauchamp aforenamed, by giving unto them an Earl, a noble and valiant gentleman, lineally extracted out of the same house. And further of your goodness and bountifulness, your Majesty hath advanced his noble and worthy brother to like dignity and honour, establishing him in the confines of the same liberty, to the great good and benefit of the inhabitants of this town. Of whose liberality (being enabled by your Highness only) they have bountifully tasted by enjoying from him the erection of an hospital to the relief of the poor of the same town for ever, besides an annual pension of £50 by year bestowed by him upon a preacher, without the which they should lack the heavenly food of their souls by want of preaching, the town not

being able to find the same by reason that the necessary charges and stipend of the minister and other offices there far surmount their yearly revenues, notwithstanding the bountiful gift of your noble father bestowing the same to their great good and benefit.

"Such is your gracious and bountiful goodness. Such are the persons and fruits rising up and springing out of the same. To which two noble personages I know your Majesty's presence here to be most comfortable, most desired, and most welcome.

"And to the inhabitants of this town the same doth bode and prognosticate the conversion of their old fatal decay and poverty into some better estate and fortune, even as the coming of Carolus Magnus to the old ruins of Agnisgraun, now called Achi, in Brabant, being an ancient city builded by one Granus, brother to Nero, was the occasion, by the pitiful compassion of so noble a Prince, to re-edify the same and to advance it to such honour as until this day it receiveth every Emperor at his first coronation.

"But what cause soever hath brought your Majesty hither—either the beautifulness of the place or your Highness' gracious favour to these parties—surely the incomparable joy that all this country hath received for that it hath pleased you to bless them with your comfortable presence cannot by me be expressed. But as their dutiful hearts can show themselves by external signs and testimonies, so may it to your Majesty appear: the populous concourse of this multitude, the ways and streets filled with companies of all

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HUNTING LODGE, IN THE GROUNDS OF WARWICK CASTLE.

ages desirous to have the fruition of your divine countenance, the houses and habitations themselves changed from their old naked bareness into a more fresh show, and as it were a smiling liveliness, declare sufficiently, though I spake not at all, the joyful hearts, the singular affections, the ready and humble wills of us your true-hearted subjects. And for further declaration of the same we, as the Bailiff and Burgesses of this poor town, do present to your Majesty a simple and small gift, coming from large and ample willing hearts, though the same be indeed as a drop of water in the ocean sea in comparison of that your Majesty deserveth—and yet in their substance as much as the two mites of the poor widow mentioned in the Scripture.

"So their hope and most humble desire is that your Highness will accept and allow the same, even as the said two mites were allowed, or as the handful of water was accepted by Alexander the Great, offered unto him by a poor follower of his, measuring the gift not by the value of it, but by the ready will of the offerers, whom your Majesty shall find are ready and willing to any service that you shall employ them in as those that be greatest.

"And thus, craving pardon for my rude and large speech, I make an end, desiring God long to continue your Majesty's happy and prosperous reign over us, even to Nestor's years, if it be his good pleasure. Amen, Amen."

The speech, it seems, was listened to, and not taken as read—rightly, since it has an historical as well as a literary interest. Our narrative proceeds:—

"The oration ended, Robert Phillips, Bailiff, rising out of the place where he kneeled, approached now to the coach or chariot wherein her Majesty sat, and coming to the side thereof, kneeling down, offered unto her Majesty a purse, very fair wrought, and in the purse £20, all in sovereigns, which her Majesty, putting forth her hand, received, showing withal a very beaming and gracious countenance, and, smiling, said to the Earl of Leicester:

"'My lord, this is contrary to your promise.'

"And, turning toward the Bailiff:

"'I thank you, and you all, with all my heart, for your good wills. And I am very loath to take

anything at your hands now, because you, at the last time of my being here, presented us to our great liking and contentation. And it is not the manner to be always presented with gifts, and I am the more unwilling to take anything of you because I know that a mite of their hands is as much as a thousand pounds of some others. Nevertheless, because you shall not think that I mislike of your good wills, I will accept it with most hearty thanks to you all, praying God that I may perform, as Mr. Recorder saith, such benefit as is hoped.'

"And therewithal offered her hand to Mr. Bailiff to kiss—who kissed it; and then she delivered to him again the mace, which before the oration he had delivered to her Majesty, which she kept in her lap all the time of the oration. And, after the mace delivered, she called Mr. Aglionby to her, and offered him her hand to kiss, and, withal smiling, said:

"'Come hither, little Recorder. It was told me that you would be afraid to look upon me, or to speak so boldly; but you were not so afraid of me as I was of you. And I now thank you for putting me in mind of my duty, and that should be in me.'

"And so thereupon, showing a most gracious and favourable countenance to all the Burgesses and company, said again:

"'I most heartily thank you all, my good people.'"

Then came "Mr. Griffyn the preacher," advancing with a paper in his hand. Her Majesty seems to have apprehended something tedious, for she said: "If

it be any matter to be answered, we will look upon it, and give your answer at my Lord of Warwick's House." But it was only a Latin acrostic—the sort of thing that Queen Elizabeth liked. "These verses," it seems, "her Majesty delivered to the Countess of Warwick, riding with her in the coach, and my Lady of Warwick showed them to Mr. Aglionby, and Mr. Aglionby to this writer, who took a copy of them." (*Vide* Appendix.)

And now, after the account of the visit to that town, we come to the account of the visit to the Castle.

"Then," our chronicler proceeds, "the Bailiff, the Recorder, and principal Burgesses were commanded to their houses, which they took with as good speed as they might, and in order rode two and two together before her Majesty from the Ford Mill till they came to the Castle Gate. And thus were they marshalled by the heralds or gentlemen ushers: first the Attendants or Assistants to the Bailiff to the number of 30, two and two together in coats of puce laid on with lace; then the 12 principal Burgesses in gowns of puce lined with satin and damask upon footclothes; then two bishops; then the Lords of the Council; then next before the Queen's Majesty was placed the Bailiff in a gown of scarlet, on the right of the Lord Compton, who then was High Sheriff of this Shire, and therefore would have carried up her rod into the town—which was forbidden him by the heralds and gentlemen ushers, who, therefore, had

placed the Bailiff on the right hand with his mace.

"And in this manner her Highness was conveyed to the Castle Gate, where the said principal Burgesses and Assistants stayed, every man in his order, dividing themselves on either side, to make a lane or room where her Majesty should pass; who, passing through them, gave them thanks, saying withal, 'It is a well-favoured and comely company.'

"What that meant let him divine that can.

"The Bailiff, nevertheless, rode into the Castle, still carrying up his mace, being so directed by the gentlemen ushers and heralds, and so attending her Majesty up into the hall—which done he repaired home. On whom the principal Commoners and Burgesses attended to his house, from whence every man repaired to his own home; and Mr. Recorder went with John Fisher, where he was simply lodged, because the best lodgings were taken up by Mr. Comptroller."

So far of the Bailiff. An account of the Queen's own movements follows:—

"That Monday night her Majesty tarried at Warwick, and so all Tuesday. On Wednesday she decreed to go to Kenilworth, leaving her household and train at Warwick, and so was on Wednesday morning conveyed through the streets to the North Gate, and from thence through Mr. Thomas Fisher's grounds,[1] and so by Woodloes, the fairest way to

[1] The Priory.

Kenilworth, where she rested at the charge of the Lord of Leicester from Wednesday morning till Saturday night, having in the meantime such princely sport made to her Majesty as could be devised. On Saturday night, very late, her Majesty returned to Warwick.

"And, because she would see what cheer my Lady of Warwick made, she suddenly went unto Mr. Thomas Fisher's house, where my Lord of Warwick kept his house, and there finding them at supper sat down awhile, and after a little repast rose again, leaving the rest at supper, and went to visit the good man of the house, Thomas Fisher, who at that time was grievously vexed with the gout. Who, being brought out into the gallery end, would have kneeled, or rather fallen down, but her Majesty would not suffer it, but with most gracious words comforted him, so that forgetting, or rather counterfeiting, his pain, he would in more haste than good speed be on horseback the next time of her going abroad—which was on Monday following, when he rode with the Lord Treasurer, escorting her Majesty to Kenilworth again, reporting such things as, some for their untruths and some for other causes, had been better untold; but as he did it by counsel rashly and in heat, so by appearance at leisure coldly he repented.

"What these things mean is not for every one to know."

Next comes the account of the rejoicings when it pleased the Queen "to have the country people

resorting to see the dance in the Court of the Castle, her Majesty beholding them out of her chamber-window." The leading feature of the entertainment was "a show of fireworks prepared for that purpose in the Temple Fields." Our chronicler apologises for the imperfections of his descriptive report on the ground that he was "sick in his bed," and therefore could not see them. Nevertheless, he informed himself about them carefully, and says:—

"The report was that there was devised on the Temple ditch a fort made of slender timber covered with canvas. In this fort were appointed divers persons to serve as soldiers; and therefore so many harnesses as might be gotten within the town were had, wherewith men were armed and appointed to show themselves. Some others were appointed to cast out fireworks, as squibs and balls of fire.

"Against that fort was another, castle-wise prepared, of like strength, whereof was governor the Earl of Oxford, a lusty gentleman with a lusty band of gentlemen. Between these forts, or against them, were placed certain battering pieces to the number of 12 or 13, brought from London, and 12 score chambers[1] or mortice pieces, brought also from the town at the charge of the Earl of Warwick. These pieces and chambers were by trains fired, and so made a great noise, as though it had been a sore assault—having some intermission, in which time the Earl of Oxford and his soldiers to the number of

[1] A kind of short cannon.

200 with qualevers and arquebuses likewise gave divers assaults."

Unhappily this display of pyrotechnics was not entirely harmless :—

"The fort, shooting again and casting out divers fires, terrible to those that have not been in like experience, valiant to such as delighted therein, and indeed strange to them that understood it not. For the wild fire falling into the river of Avon would for a time lie still, and then again rise and fly abroad, casting forth many flashes and flames, whereat the Queen's Majesty took great pleasure till after, by mischance, a poor man or two were much troubled. For, at the last, when it was appointed that the overthrowing of the fort should be, a dragon flying, casting out huge flames and squibs, lighted upon the fort, and so set fire thereon, to the subversion thereof. But, whether by negligence or otherwise, it happed that a ball of fire fell on a house at the end of the bridge, wherein one Henry Cowy, otherwise called Miller, dwelt, and set fire on the same house, the man and wife being both in bed and asleep. Which burned so as, before any rescue could be, the house and all things in it utterly perished, with much ado to save the man and woman. And besides that house another house or two adjoining were also fired, but rescued by the diligent and careful help as well of the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Fulke Greville, and other gentlemen and townsmen, which repaired thither in greater number than could be ordered. And no

more avail it was that so little harm was done, for the fireballs and squibs cast up did fly quite over the Castle and into the midst of the town, falling down, some on houses, some in courts and backsides, and some in the streets, as far as almost of St. Mary Church, to the great peril, or else great fear, of the inhabitants of this borough. And so as, by what means is not yet known, four houses in the town and suburbs were on fire at once, whereof one had a ball come through both sides and made a hole as big as a man's head."

We can have no difficulty in agreeing with our chronicler that "when this fire appeared it was time to go to rest." Something was done the next morning for the victims of it, when "it pleased her Majesty to have the poor old man and woman that had their house burnt brought unto her; whom, so brought, her Majesty recomforted very much, and by her great bounty and other courtiers there was given towards their losses that had taken hurt £25 12s. 8d. or thereabouts, which was dispensed to them accordingly."

And so the entertainment ended—the cost of it, apart from the damage done, being a cause of some vexation and anxiety, as we gather from our chronicler's concluding words:—

"On Monday her Majesty, taking great pleasure in the sport she had at Kenilworth, would thither again, where she rested till the Saturday after, and then from thence by Charlecote she went to the Lord Compton's, and so forward.

"In the meantime, the Earl of Warwick keeping house at the Priory to his great charge, the town offered unto his lordship a small present. That was a fat ox and 10 muttons or wethers fed, which it seemed his lordship took very courteously. So as, in the end, at his going away, it pleased him to appoint 4 bucks to be given and delivered to the Bailiff and townsmen to make merry withal, and in money [ ],[1] which both were promised by his officers, but nothing delivered.

"And thus briefly I thought good to touch some part of her Majesty's repair hither, though, for want of understanding of many things omitted, and by reason of long sickness, being not able to put the same in writing, all things be not remembered. But the writer thinketh it better to report somewhat than leave all undone—the town having been at so great charge, as may appear by the Bailiff's account, where the common charge is set forth particularly."

[1] There is a blank here in the MS.

CHAPTER VI

Ambrose Dudley and Local Affairs—His Concern for Good Government—His Interference with Parliamentary and Municipal Elections—Other Events of his Later Years—The Amputation of his Leg—His Death—His Character.

A FEW other incidents in the life of Ambrose Dudley remain to be recorded. The "Black Book," in particular, contains various illustrations of his interest in the affairs of Warwick.

In 1575 we find him taking measures for the expulsion of a bigamist who had come from Stratford-on-Avon, and who, in addition to this offence against law and morality, was "a man very contentious, proud, and slanderous, oft busying himself with naughty matters, and quarrelling with his honest neighbours." Ambrose Dudley's letter on the subject, addressed to "my very friend William Hudson at Warwick," runs as follows:—

"Good Mr. Hudson,

"I am given to understand by a letter of yours, directed unto George Turville, that one Wedgewood is come again to be a dweller in Warwick: who for his ill behaviour and dishonest living was afore banished by my commandment. And therefore I am to desire you in my name to deal with the Bailiff and Masters of the Town that he may not remain there for

evil example to others in the like case. And so I bid you farewell with my hearty commendations from the Court at Woodstock, this second of October, 1575.

"Your very friend,

"A. WARWICK."

We have similar evidence of his influence in Parliamentary elections. He writes to "my loving friends the Bailiff and the rest of the company of the Town of Warwick" thus :—

"After my hearty commendations. I have received letters from my lords of the Council, importing the great desire her Majesty hath of good choice to be made of wise, discreet, and well-disposed persons to serve as Knights and Burgesses in this Parliament, now summoned by her Highness' order to begin in April next. And being thereby required on her Majesty's behalf that I for my part (to avoid some enormities) will take care that the Burgesses within that town to be chosen be to all respects meet and worthy those Rooms, I have thought good like as to signify this much unto you, so to pray you to consider thereof accordingly. And albeit it may be there is no want of able men among yourselves for the supply of the matter, yet the special opinion I have upon good cause conceived of my friend Mr. Edward Aglionby's sufficiency doth move me to recommend him unto you for one of your burgesses, being a man not only well known among you, but one I dare undertake you shall find very forward in the advancement of anything

From the picture in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield.

AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

that may tend to the common profit and commodity of your town. Whereof not doubting but you will have due regard I bid you heartily farewell. At Westminster, the 19th of February, 1570.

"Your loving friend,

"A. WARWICK."

Eighteen years later we find him writing similar letters on behalf of a relative of his own. It will be sufficient to give one of them :—

"To my very loving friends the Bailiff and Burgesses of Warwick :

"After my hearty commendations. Whereas you are now to make choice of the Burgesses of the Parliament for your Town, I have thought good to recommend unto you my kinsman, Thomas Dudley, to be used in that place for you. He is a man who hath heretofore served in the same place, and of that sufficiency every way as I know not which way you might better be sped; and therefore I would entreat you to make present choice of him; and let me understand of the same by your letters. I would be loath he should be prevented by any other man's suit unto you. And therefore I desire your expedition herein, which I will take in very good part, and thank you all in his behalf. So I bid you heartily farewell. From London, this 21st of September, 1588.

"Your assured loving friend,

"A. WARWICK."

It is characteristic of the period that this letter was sent by a special messenger, who was instructed to wait for an answer. The tenor of the answer shows that the relations between the Earl and the citizens were satisfactory. It runs thus :—

"To the Right Honourable our very good Lord, the Earl of Warwick, his good Lordship:

"Our duty in most humble manner promised to your good Lordship. The same may please to be advertised that upon receipt of your honourable letters this day touching the election of Mr. Thomas Dudley to be one of the Burgesses for the Parliament of this Town, we are ready and most willing to satisfy your Lordship's request so far as in us lieth. Nevertheless, until some warrant come under her Majesty's great seal, the election cannot be perfected. Yielding unto your honour all dutiful gratuity as becometh us in this and all things else. At Warwick, this 25th September, 1588.

"Your most honorable Lordship's to command,

"William Worster (Bailiff), Richard Fisher, Richard Townsend, John Fisher, Thomas Powell, John Rigeley, John Green, Robert Sheldon, Roger Hurlebutt, John Hicks, Christopher Knight, John Townsend."

The Earl's benefactions to the town may account for his popularity. He and his brother Robert, Earl of Leicester, whom Warwick also remembers gratefully, granted to the corporation, in 1576, the East Gate, St. Peter's Chapel, and the Shire Hall. It is interesting to find that Sir Fulke Greville, about whom we shall have a good deal to say presently, was present at the signing of the deed of gift. A translation of it will be found among the appendices.

Irregularities in the conduct of elections and in the

expenditure of public money were other matters which aroused the interest of the Earl of Warwick. "As regards the election of principal burgesses," says Mr. Kemp, "the poor Bailiff and his brethren seem to have been unjustly and unnecessarily harassed" by the Earl and his brother; but it is a long and intricate story, the rights and wrongs of which are far from easy to determine. We read of delegations travelling to London, and of counsel's opinion being taken, and of suits in Chancery which almost recall the case of Jarndyce *versus* Jarndyce.

It begins because a certain Brookes, having a grievance, "becometh an open enemy and voweth the overthrow and breaking the neck of the Corporation," and "informeth my Lord [of Leicester] that divers things be misgoverned by the Bailiff and Burgesses," notably that "they waste the yearly revenues rising of lands and tenements given to find ministers, and that to their private advantage," and that "they take no accounts or recognizances how the money is bestowed," and that "the Bailiffs are and have been unduly and not lawfully chosen."

The quarrel dragged on for years. I will not pretend to understand it sufficiently well to take a side in it. But I will print some of Ambrose Dudley's letters about it. They show, to some extent, what manner of man he was—a man zealous for the proper and orderly conduct of municipal affairs, and accustomed to speak to the citizens in authoritative tones, as one whose habit it was to be listened to respectfully and obeyed.

From a lithograph.

THE CHANTRY CHAPEL, ADJOINING THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

The first letter is as follows:—

"To my very loving friends, the Bailiff and Burgesses of the Town of Warwick:

"After my hearty commendations. Whereas sundry sums of money hath been given to that town by divers well-disposed persons and good benefactors, to be employed and used to good purposes—which sums was given under very strict conditions, that if it can be proved the money not to be bestowed according to the good meaning of those benefactors but translated to other private purposes, that then the sums of money so bestowed should return to the executors of the said benefactors, and the town utterly to lose the benefit of so great benevolence; and whereas I am informed the said sums of money have been well employed until now of late, and that the consciences of divers men being put in trust to the same well bestowed according to the good meaning of the benefactors are touched for that they see the money neither well employed nor the good meaning of the benefactors performed, because the same is now in private men's hands, who make to themselves a peculiar gain, without any regard had to the good intent of the benefactors: These are therefore to will you, Mr. Bailiff, and the rest of your brethren (having a special regard to see such good purposes not abused, the rather to encourage others to be beneficial hereafter and for the special love I bear to that town and the inhabitants thereof), to call a hall and assemble the burgesses together, and

make diligent enquiry how and in what manner those several sums of money have been of late employed, and in whom the fault especial resteth. For it is pity to suffer so liberal benevolence to be turned to abuse, and the honest and good meaning of the benefactors no better performed without due reformation. This hoping you will not fail but advertise me with speed the truth of this matter, I bid you all heartily well to fare.

"At the Court, this 29th of November, 1579.

"Your loving friend,

"AMB. WARWICK."

The answer was to the effect that, "albeit things be not to the best sort ordered," there had been gross exaggeration in the tales carried to the Earl. The matter got, however, into the Court of Chancery, where it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep track of it. In the course of years the Earl of Leicester, we are told, "grew weary of these idle accusations." But the Earl of Warwick was determined to see the matter through. Six years after the first letter we come upon a much more peremptory communication :—

"To the Bailiff and Burgesses of Warwick give these :

"Having heretofore, together with my brother, written unto you several letters touching the orderly employments of the town money according to the true meaning of the givers of the same, and also concerning the due election of the principal Burgesses there

according to the Charter, which of long time in that point hath been by the frowardness of some of you much abused. And in the same other letters, to the end your new election might take better effect, we did let you know that we had desired Sir Thomas Lucy, Edward Boughton, and Thomas Leigh, Esquires, your neighbours, to be present at the same. Wherein we now find by good advertisement that you have done nothing, neither regarding our former letters, nor respecting the credit of yourselves, nor the common commodity of the Borough, but making light reckoning of our earnest request, and of Mr. Boughton's offer to be present at your election, as was required by us. Whereby, albeit you have given us sufficient cause to think that such men as delight in misdoing and denying our earnest desire to do the town good and offer us occasion to bring you to good order by other means than by requests—which (if this may serve) we are loth to attempt—I therefore once again in former sort require you that you assemble yourselves together and make a right choice of your principal Burgesses by the general or more part of the voices of the whole Borough as the Law doth warrant and appoint you by your Charter to do. At which election, once again, I desire and require you that the said Edward Boughton may be present, by whose means it may take the better effect, and that also he may appoint and give notice to you of the time when the same shall be. Whereof you will not fail if you make account of my favour or be desirous of good

government of the town. Of which I will be careful, and bring you to reform your misordered doings if herein you be negligent. Fare ye well. From Northall, the 10th of July, 1585.

"Your loving friend,

"A. WARWICK."

How the little difficulty was settled it is impossible to say, since the above letter is the last reference to it which the "Black Book" contains. Nor does the settlement really concern us. Our interest in the quarrel is limited to the light shed by it upon the character of Ambrose Dudley. The documents show us an Earl of Warwick who is no longer a feudal lord after the fashion of the King-maker, but the father, and one might almost say the schoolmaster, of his people—a kind but severe schoolmaster, quite sure that he knows what is best for them, and quite resolved that they shall do what they are told. He may stand as the type of the Lords of the Manor in many counties for many generations.

The other references to him in the "Black Book" are mostly trivial. The following is an example:—

"Memorandum that Mr. John Fisher, in the last speeches which he ever delivered unto me touching temporal affairs, uttered these words: 'The Queen is to have £1 6s. 8d. out of the Friars, for that the land was given to the Lord of Warwick; the town to receive 3s. 4d. in respect of the title yearly.'

W. SPICER."

Warwick Castle

In spite of his energetic character, to which our "Black Book" bears clear testimony, Ambrose Dudley's later years were not, and could not be, active. The wound received in the Havre campaign was a constantly recurring cause of trouble. That, no doubt, is the reason why we do not hear of him in those wars against the Spaniards in the Low Countries in which his brother, the Earl of Leicester, fought. Warwick Castle contains some interesting returns of corn in the hands of dealers, compiled as the result of representations made by him, with Lord Burghley, the Earl of Bedford, Walsingham, and some others at a time of scarcity. The MSS. of the Corporation of Rye include an "Indenture between Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, master of the ordnance, and the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, witnessing the receipt by the latter of certain ordnance and stores," which is printed in Holloway's "History of Rye"; and the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis de Townshend, and other collections contain some of his letters, not of overwhelming interest. There is a letter from him to Lord Burghley, for instance, in 1575, asking that "works begun for providing rooms, etc., for the Mastership of the Tower may be allowed to go forward, and that Mr. Martin, who challenged the said rooms to belong to the office of the Mint, may be written to to suffer the work to proceed."

He was one of the signatories, in the same year, of an instruction of the Privy Council to Lord Burghley, requiring him to "give order through his

office for stay of all vessels belonging to the town of Flushing, and to put in safe keeping till further orders all the ships' masters and mariners. With postscript that the arrest is to extend to all those of Zealand."

A little later we find him giving orders to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of the County of Norfolk as to the training of the militia in shooting. Other letters deal with more personal matters: this, for instance, written to Lord Burghley in 1578, thanking his correspondent for his great courtesy in serving him in this his necessity—"Without help in this extremity writer's ruinous house should have been finished he cannot tell when. My most hearty commendations not forgotten to my good lady your wife, as likewise to the sweet little Countess of Oxford. My 'amys' [Anne] hath the like to your good lordship and to both the ladies."

And this, also to Lord Burghley, in 1582:—

"Albeit I have otherwares diversely made myself beholding to your Lordship, yet in respect I have not much troubled your game at Enfield I wold very hartely request yow to bestow a Buck of this season upon me ther. The deere thrive so badly at Hatfield as I am not for this year able to pleasure neither myself nor any friend I have with a Bucke ther."

We hear of him again, in 1587, in the postscript of a letter to Lord Burghley from Sir Robert Cecil:—

"P.S.—I waited on my Lord of Warwick and my

lady yesterday at dinner, where was my Lord Talbot, Mr. Fulk Greville, and others. They came all to London yesternight; my Lord of Warwick being not a little pleased that his hounds had killed a stag of force in your lordship's woods, where my Lord Chamberlain and so many others had missed before."

And finally, a few days before his death, Anthony Bagot writes to his father, Richard Bagot:—

"No news. But yesterday the Earl of Warwick had one of his legs cut off by the knee for the disease the Earl of Bedford had called the gangrene."

Ambrose Dudley died,[1] as the result of this operation, at Bedford House, Bloomsbury, on February 20th, 1589-90. He was buried in the Lady Chapel,[2] at

[1] The arms of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, were:—

Quarterly: 1 Sutton-Dudley, 2 Beaumont, 3 Grey, 4 Hastings, 5 Quincy, 6 Malpas, 7 Somery, 8 Valance, 9 Talbot, 10 Neubourgh, 11 Beauchamp, 12 Berkeley, 13 Gerard, 14 Lisle, 15 Guilford, 16 Halden, 17 West, 18 La Warr, 19 Cantelupe, 20 Mortimer, 21 Gresley.

Crest: on a wreath or and azure a bear muzzled and leaning on a ragged staff argent, collared and chained or.

Supporters: Dexter, a lion regardant argent, crowned or; sinister, a lion vert, ducally gorged and chained or.

Mottoes: (1) Tempus omnia Habet; (2) Ung Dieu, ung Roy, Sarvier je Doy.

Badge: Ragged staff of silver. (MS. Harl., 1156.)

[2] On a raised tomb by the south wall is an effigy in long embroidered robe buttoned down the front, with turned-down collar and cuffs to match; the hair is bound with an ornamental fillet, and above the robe a cloak is worn. On the basement is a long inscription in memory of the "Noble Impe" Robert, son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and nephew to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, who died 19th July, 26 Eliz. On the wall-piece behind is a shield of arms, with the sixteen quarterings of Dudley.

On a high tomb is a full-length effigy of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, the basement in three compartments, separated by Corinthian pilasters of marble, that of the central pair inlaid in arabesque. In each compartment

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE TOMB OF AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK, IN THE LADY CHAPEL, WARWICK.

Warwick, the funeral being conducted by Sir William Dethick. He was three times married: to Anne, daughter of William Whorwood by Cassandra, daughter of Sir Edward Grey; to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, and heiress to George, Lord Talboys; and to Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford. His only son, by his first wife, died in childhood, and he left no legitimate posterity. His widow survived him for some years, and there is evidence that she enjoyed the favour of Queen Elizabeth. Some of her letters which have been preserved are dated from "the Court." This, for instance, to her uncle, Roger Manners: "I have receved your letter and perceve by your man that you are retorned from Buxtons and not received so muche goode therby as hertofore, by reason of your hasting away uppon theise newes, which are nowe againe well ceassed and thought not like to doe anything except towards the west parts, where they are exceding well provided for them. I have remembered you to her Majestie and presented your humble duty and service, making knowne your readynes upon this

are shields of arms. The effigy lies on a rolled-up mat, and is represented wearing the coronet of his rank, and dressed in richly chased armour, trunk-hose, and cloak; the whole of the tomb is painted in colour. The principal shield at the eastern end of the monument contains sixteen quarterings of Dudley impaling as many of Russell, all within the garter, and with supporters, a lion gorged and chained for Dudley and goat crowned and armed or for Russell; while on either side are Dudley impaling Russell, Talboys, and Whorwood. At the west end are the quarterings, crest, and supporters of the Earl, the crest being the bear and ragged staff.

occasion. Her Majesty's answer was that she knew you to be hir olde and faithful servant, and that she doubted not of your desire and willingness to shew your dutifull affeccion towards hir, for which she dothe hartelye thanck you, but wold not in any wyse have you to have left your course in stayinge at the Bathe, wherby for hir you shold hinder your helth."

There was no Dudley admittedly legitimate left to succeed to the title and estates. A few years later we shall find the House of Greville enjoying the estates and owning the Castle, while the House of Rich is granted the Earldom. Before proceeding to that section of our history, however, we will turn aside and follow the fortunes of other branches of the House of Dudley—notably those of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and his son, the Robert Dudley whom the Law Courts have decided to be illegitimate, but whose claims to be the rightful heir to the Earldoms of both Leicester and Warwick have found many supporters, and rest upon substantial evidence.

CHAPTER VII

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester—The Reasons why he is Interesting—His Marriage with Amy Robsart—The Robsart Pedigree—The Story of Lady Amy's Death—The Suggestion that Dudley murdered her—A Review of the Evidence—The Grounds on which Dudley must be acquitted of the Crime.

ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Leicester, fifth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and younger brother of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was neither a good man nor a great man, though he may be said to have approached greatness by way of cleverness and goodness by the path of charitable benefaction. On the other hand, he failed as a general, and was suspected, though on inconclusive evidence, of removing obstacles to his ambition by means of poison. The most favourable thing that can be said of him is that he was conspicuous for his culture in a conspicuously cultured age, and was a consistent patron of the arts. It is said, though it cannot be proved, that he received Shakespeare at Kenilworth; and he was the first grantee of letters patent for the maintenance of a troop of actor-servants, including the famous James Burbage. It may be that his contemporaries wronged him through jealousy of the favour which women, from the Queen of England

From the picture at Warwick Castle.

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

downwards, showed him; but they had a strong case against him, even if they exaggerated it. It would be rather an exaggeration than an untruth to say of him that he "spared neither man in his anger nor woman in his lust."

With all this he is a profoundly interesting figure—one of the most interesting in the great gallery of Elizabethan notables; and this not merely because he was the reputed lover of the Queen, but because of the many mysteries of crime of which the secret is locked in his tomb. He was one of the first of those who have thoroughly understood what Mr. Charles Whibley, in an ingenious work, has called "the pageant of life." Outwardly, if not inwardly, he was the type of the "magnificent man" held up to our admiration by Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics. Thinking of him, one thinks also of the modern hero of whom the American humourist said that he had never seen any single man who looked so much like a procession. It will be worth while to devote a few pages to the consideration of his career and character.

The year of his birth is uncertain; but it was either 1532 or 1533. We know the day from one of his letters to Elizabeth. "This is my birthday," he writes to her on June 24th. He was married, as a mere boy, to Amy Robsart, who was a mere girl. Edward VI. was present at the wedding. There is an interesting note of the fact in the King's journal, which may still be read, in his own singularly clear

handwriting, in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum :—

"1550. June 4.—Sir Robert Dudley, third (surviving) son to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John Robsart's daughter, after which marriage there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive on two cross posts."

This disposes of Sir Walter Scott's allegation in "Kenilworth" that the marriage was kept secret. But that so-called historical novel, as we shall see, is full not only of historical inaccuracies, but of historical impossibilities. Before coming to them, let us give an account of Amy Robsart's family and descent.

She came of an old house that had distinguished itself in English annals. The founder of the family was John Robsart, who, together with Richard Verchin, Lord High Seneschal of Hainault, surprised John, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of King Philip of France, in his quarters at Montais, on the River Selle, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Edward III. His son was Robert, Baron of Cannon in Hainault, who also distinguished himself in the foreign wars, taking the Castle of Commercy and defeating the Lord Gomeignes, while the King was besieging Rheims, in 1359, and afterwards, in the reign of Richard II., taking various castles in Spain. His eldest son, Sir John Robsart, distinguished himself in the wars with the Saracens in the reign of Richard II., was with

Henry V. at the siege of Caen, one of the principal commanders under Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and, under Henry VI., was the English representative who negotiated the surrender of Cherbourg to the French. Having been born in Hainault, he was naturalised, and died in 1450. His son, Sir Theodoric (or Terry) Robsart, had a son, Sir John Robsart, of whom we know little, except that Edward VI., on the advice of Lord Protector Somerset, granted him a pardon for "all treasons, insurrections, rebellions, murders, felonies before the 20th of January in the first year of that king." He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Scot, of Camberwell, in Surrey, and our Amy Robsart was his daughter. He was several times Lord Justice and Lord Lieutenant for the County of Norfolk.

The Scots were also of good family, though not so well descended as the Robsarts. The Manor of Camberwell had been granted to John Scot on the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, from whom he had previously rented it. He had been made third Baron of the Exchequer in 1529. His daughter Elizabeth, before her marriage with Sir John Robsart, had been the wife of Roger Appleyard, son and heir of Sir Nicholas Appleyard in the County of Norfolk.

That is enough genealogy for the present We will proceed to our story.

At first, and for some time, Dudley and his wife were on good terms. She visited him during his

imprisonment in the Tower at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; but estrangement must have declared itself soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession. Then Dudley was at Court making love to the Queen, and Lady Amy was living in the country. There is no evidence of her feelings in the two letters of hers that have been preserved—the one ordering a new dress, and the other giving directions for the sale of some wool on the Siderstern[1] estate; but surely Mr. Sidney Lee is wrong in saying[2] that "the language suggests a perfect understanding between husband and wife." Lady Amy may perfectly well have had her feelings, even if she did not confide them to her dressmaker.

Lady Amy's home seems at first to have been at the house of a Mr. Hyde, at Denchworth.[3] Early in 1560 she removed to the house of Anthony Forster,[4] at Cumnor, near Oxford. Cumnor Place is now a ruin.

The few facts that are certain about the tragedy

[1] This manor came into the possession of the Robsart family by the marriage of Sir Terry Robsart with the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Kerdeston, of Siderstern, in Norfolk.

[2] In the "Dictionary of National Biography."

[3] The Hydes believed themselves to have possessed the Manor of Denchworth since the time of King Canute. As a matter of fact it belonged, in 1417, to Sir Roger Corbet, whose daughter and sole heiress, Sibylla, married Sir John Greville, who will presently reappear in our narrative.

[4] Subsequently M.P. for Abingdon. He had purchased the property from William Owen, son of George Owen, physician to Henry VIII., to whom it had been granted by letters patent at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.

that followed are thus summed up by Mr. Sidney Lee :—

"Besides Forster and his wife, Lady Amy found living at Cumnor Mrs. Odingsells, a widow and a sister of Mr. Hyde of Denchworth, and Mrs. Owen, William Owen's wife. On Sunday, 8 September, 1560, Lady Amy is said to have directed the whole household to visit Abingdon fair. The three ladies declined to go, but only Mrs. Owen dined with Lady Amy. Late in the day the servants returned from Abingdon, and found Dudley's wife lying dead at the foot of the staircase in the hall. She had been playing at table with the other ladies, it was stated, had suddenly left the room, had fallen downstairs and broken her neck."

Was it accident? Was it suicide? Was it murder? These questions have been violently agitated, and the proper discussion of them would take up a good deal more space than I have at my disposal. All that I can attempt is to give a brief review of the arguments that others have put forward.

Ugly rumours were afloat from the very first. Dr. Thomas Lever, Prebendary of Durham, and Master of Sherborne Hospital, hearing them, took it upon himself to write to Sir Francis Knollys and Sir William Cecil, drawing attention to the scandal, and protesting that it must not be hushed up.

"I am moved and boldened," he wrote, "by writing to signify unto you, that here in these parts seemeth unto me to be a grievous and dangerous

suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of my Lord Robert Dudley. And now my desire and trust is that the rather by your goodly discreet device and diligence, through the Queen's Majesty's authority, earnest searching and trying out of the truth with due punishment, if any be found guilty in this matter, may be openly known. For if no search nor inquiry be made and known, the displeasure of God, the dishonour of the Queen, and the danger of the whole realm is to be feared. And by due inquiry and justice openly known, surely God shall be well pleased and served, the Queen's Majesty worthily commended, and her loving subjects comfortably quieted."

The enquiry asked for was duly held, however, and there is nothing to indicate that Dr. Lever was dissatisfied with the jury's verdict of accidental death. Dudley, in fact, had himself demanded the inquest before the letter of the divine was written.

Notwithstanding the result of the inquest the whole Continent, at the time, believed Dudley to have contrived the murder. Throgmorton, the English Ambassador at Paris, reported to this effect on several occasions; and the Spanish Ambassador at London, De Quadra, circulated damaging gossip to the same effect. "They [*i.e.* the Queen and Dudley]," he wrote, "were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife. . . . They had given out that she was ill, but she was not ill at all; she was very well, and taking care not to be poisoned. . . . The

Queen, on her return from hunting (on 4 Sept.) told me that Lord Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and begged me to say nothing about it."

Throgmorton, however, had a motive for making the most of the scandal—he always gave it as a reason why the Queen should not marry her favourite; and the Queen herself protested against his reports. "She thereupon told me," he writes, "that the matter had been tried in the country, and found to be contrary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house, and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour."

Nor does Burghley appear to have believed the reports made to him, though he cited them as a ground of objection to the Queen's marriage with a subject who was "infamed by his wife's death."

The murder story was revived, 1567, by the Lady Amy's half-brother, John Appleyard, who declared that Leicester had bribed the coroner's jury. But when John Appleyard came to be examined by the Privy Council, he retracted and apologised, saying that he had deliberately slandered Dudley because he had expected from him benefits which he had not received. Possibly the retractation was made under pressure; but it is, in any case, impossible to attach value to John Appleyard's evidence.

Finally, we have a black indictment of Dudley in a pamphlet generally known as "Leicester's Common-

wealth "—but first printed, probably at Antwerp, in 1584—as "The copy of a Letter wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge to his Friend in London concerning some talke past of late between two worshipfull and grave men about the present state and some proceedyngs of the Erle of Leycester and his friendes in England."

The gist of the accusation is contained in the following passages :—

"As for example, when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his own wife stood in his light, as he supposed, he did but send her aside to the house of his servant, Forster of Cumnor, by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of stairs, and so to break her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir Richard Varney, who by commandment remained with her that day alone, with one man only, and had sent away perforce all her servants from her, to a market two miles off, he (I say) with this man can tell how she died, which man being taken afterward for a felony in the Marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison; and Sir Richard himself dying about the same time in London, cried piteously and blasphemed God, and said to a gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did tear him in pieces. The wife also of Bald Butler, kinsman to

my Lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death.

"Secondly, it is not also unlike that he prescribed unto Sir Richard Varney, at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that took not place, then by any other way to dispatch her howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor Bayly, who then lived in Oxford (another manner of man than he who now liveth about my Lord of the same name), and was Professor of the Physic Lecture in the same University. This learned, grave man reported for most certain that there was a practice in Cumnor among the conspirators to have poisoned the poor lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted in this order:

"They, seeing the good lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not far off), began to persuade her that her disease was abundance of melancholy and other humours, and therefore would needs counsel her to take some potion, which she absolutely refusing to do, as still suspecting the worst, they sent one day (unawares to her) for Doctor Bayly, and desired him to persuade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need the good lady had of physic; and therefore he flatly denied their

From the picture by W. F. Yeames, R.A., by permission of the artist. Photo by H. Dixon & Son.

THE DEATH OF AMY ROBSART.

request, misdoubting (as he after reported) lest, if they had poisoned her under the name of his potion, he might after have been hanged for a colour of their sin. Marry, the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, she should not long escape violence, as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principal men of the University of Oxford by these and other means; as for that she was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowner's inquest, and for that she being hastily and obscurely buried at Cumnor (which was condemned above, as not advisedly done), my good Lord, to make plain to the world the great love he bore to her in her life, and what a grief the loss of so virtuous a lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up again and reburied in the University Church at Oxford, with great pomp and solemnity; that Dr. Babington, my Lord's chaplain, making the public funeral sermon at her second burial, tript once or twice in his speech by recommending to their memories that virtuous lady so pitifully murdered, instead of so pitifully slain."

This is the story which, at least in its main outlines, is followed in "Kenilworth." Consequently it is the story believed by the community at large. But it will not stand examination, and has, in fact, been riddled with criticism over and over again. It did not appear until twenty-four years after the events which it purports to relate; and it contains several statements which are at variance with known facts.

In particular Sir Richard Varney,[1] who figures so prominently in Scott's romance, cannot be, even remotely, connected with the tragedy by any authenticated document.

The pamphlet was, indeed, at the time of its appearance, regarded by all responsible persons as a malicious libel. The authorship was attributed to Father Parsons, or Persons,[2] the notorious Jesuit

[1] Sir Richard Varney was Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1562. His grandson, Richard Varney, of Compton, married Margaret, sister and sole heir of Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke. His great-grandson, Greville Varney, married Catherine Southwell, sister of the Elizabeth Southwell who, as we shall presently see, eloped with Leicester's son, Robert Dudley, in the disguise of a page. This double connection with the Houses of Dudley and Greville makes it worth while to give the pedigree in an appendix.

[2] Camden, in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," gives the following account of this amazing man: "Robert Persons and Edmund Campian, English Jesuits, came into England at this time 'to set Romish affairs forward.' This Robert Persons was a Somersetshire man, of a vehement and savage nature, of most uncivil manners and ill behaviour. Edward Campian was a Londoner, of a contrary carriage; both were Oxford men, and I knew them while I was in the same University. Campian, being out of St. John's College, professed the place of Attorney in the said University in the year 1568, and, being established Archdeacon, made a show to affect the Protestant faith until that day he left England. Persons being out of Balliol College, in which he openly made profession of the Protestant religion, until his wicked life and base conversation purchasing him a shameful exile from thence, he retired himself to the Papists' side. Since both of them returning into England, were disguised, sometimes in the habits of soldiers, sometimes like gentlemen, and sometimes much like unto our ministers, they secretly travelled through England, from house to house, and places of popish nobility and gentry, valiantly executing by words and writings their commission. Persons, who was established chief and superior, being of a seditious nature and turbulent spirit, armed with audacity, spoke so boldly to the Papists to deprive Queen Elizabeth of her sceptre, that some of them at once determined to accuse and put him into the hands of justice. Campian, though something more modest, presumed to challenge, by a writing, the ministers of the Church of England to dispute with him," etc., etc.

intriguer, though Mr. Sidney Lee holds that "it was the work of a courtier, who endeavoured to foist responsibility on Parsons." In any case it is a document devoid of historical value. A State document signed, among others, by Burghley, Walsingham, and Sir Henry Sidney denounces it to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London.

"Upon intelligence," we there read, "given to her Majesty in October last past of certain seditious and traitorous books and libels couvertly spread and scattered abroad in sundry parts of her realms and dominions, it pleased her Majesty to publish proclamations throughout the realm for the suppressing of the same, and due punishment of the authors, spreadors abroad, and detainers of them, in such sort and form as in the said proclamation is more at large contained. Sithence which time, notwithstanding her Highness hath certainly known, that the very same and divers other suchlike most slanderous, shameful, and devilish books and libels have been continually spread abroad and kept by disobedient persons, to the manifest contempt of her Majestie's regal and sovereign authority; and namely, among the rest, one most infamous, containing slanderous and hateful matter against our very good Lord the Earl of Leycester, one of her principal noblemen and Chief Counsellor of State, of which most malicious and wicked imputations her Majesty in her own clear knowledge doth declare and testify his innocence to all the world, and to that effect hath written her

gracious letters, signed with her own hand, to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, where it was likely these books would chiefly be cast abroad. We therefore, to follow the course taken by her Majesty, and knowing manifestly the wickedness and falsehood of these slanderous devices against the said Earl, have thought good to notify her further pleasure and our own consciences to you in this case."

And so forth.

Another reply to the libel was written, at the time, by Sir Philip Sidney, though, probably owing to his death, it was not published until several years afterwards. His indignation is, perhaps, discounted by the fact that, as a grandson of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, he was Leicester's second cousin, and that his wrath at the aspersions cast upon Leicester is exceeded by his anger that doubt was thrown in the tract upon the gentle descent of the Dudleys; but it is a burning indignation none the less.

"Hard it were," Sir Philip writes, "if every goose-quill could any way blot the honour of an Earl of Leicester, written in the hearts of so many men throughout Europe. Neither for me shall ever so worthy a man's name be brought to be made a question, where there is only such a nameless and shameless opposer. But because that, though the writer hereof doth most falsly lay want of gentry to my dead ancestors, I have to the world thought good to say a little, which, I will assure any that list to seek, shall find confirmed with much more. But

to thee I say, thou therein liest in thy throat, which I will be ready to justify upon thee, in any place of Europe, where thou will assign me a free place of coming, as within three months after the publishing hereof I may understand thy mind. And as till thou hast proved this, in all construction of virtue and honour, all the shame thou hast spoken is thine own, the right reward of an evil-tongued Schelm, as the Germans especially call such people. So again, in any place whereto thou wilt call me, provided that the place be such as a servant of the Queen's Majesty have free access unto; if I do not, having my life and liberty, prove this upon thee, I am content that this lie I have given thee return to my perpetual infamy. And this which I write I would send to thine own hands, if I knew thee; but I trust it cannot be intended that he should be ignorant of this printed in London, which knows the very whisperings of the Privy Chamber. I will make dainty of no baseness in thee, that art, indeed, the writer of this book. And, from the date of this writing, imprinted and published, I will three months expect thine answer."

Clearly in all this there is nothing worthy to be called evidence, whether on the one side or the other. It remains to be seen whether we can draw any convincing influence from Robert Dudley's behaviour when the news of his wife's death reached him.

He certainly did not behave well. The tidings came to him when he was in attendance on the

Queen at Windsor. One would have expected him to start at once for Cumnor; but he did nothing of the kind. He sent "Cousin Blount"[1] instead, bidding him "send me your true conceit or opinion of the matter, whether it happened by evil chance or by villany." Blount's behaviour was singular, and calculated to excite suspicion. Instead of hurrying to Cumnor, which would obviously have been the natural thing to do, he delayed at Abingdon, where "at my supper I called for mine host, and asked him what news was thereabout, taking upon me I was going into Gloucestershire." He wrote a letter reporting that "the tales I do hear of her maketh me to think she had a strange mind in her," and criticising the coroner's jury in a manner which suggests some nervousness as to the verdict.

To this letter Dudley replied as follows:—

"Cousin Blount,—

"Until I hear from you again how the matter falleth out in very troth, I cannot be in quiet; and yet you do well to satisfy me with the discreet jury you say are chosen already: unto whom I pray you say from me, that I require them, as even I shall think

[1] Dudley's brother, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, married for his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert, Lord Talboys (and widow of Thomas Wimbishe); she was great-grand-daughter of Sir John Blount, of Kynlette, co. Salop. I presume Thomas Blount to be of this family. The father of Sir John Blount married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Croftes. A descendant of the latter (I presume), Sir James Croftes, who was Comptroller of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, Leicester called "Cousin Croftes."

good of them, that they will, according to their duties, earnestly, carefully, and truly deal in this matter, and find it as they shall see it fall out; and, if it fall out a chance or misfortune, then so to say; and, if it appear a villany (as God forbid so mischievous or wicked a body should live), then to find it so. And, God willing, I have never fear [of] the due prosecution accordingly, what person soever it may appear my way to touch; as well for the just punishment of the act as for mine own true justification; for, as I would be sorry in my heart any such evil should be committed, so shall it well appear to the world my innocency by my dealing in the matter, if it shall so fall out. And therefore, Cousin Blount, I seek chiefly troth in this case, which I pray you still to have regard unto, without any favour to be showed either one way or other. When you have done my message to them, I require you not to stay to search thoroughly yourself all ways that I may be satisfied. And that with such convenient speed as you may. Thus fare you well, in haste; at Kew, this XIIth day of September.

"Yours assured, R. D."

The protestations here certainly seem excessive for an innocent man not yet formally accused of anything; and it also seems suspicious, after reading it, to find first Blount and then Dudley himself in communication with the jury. "They be very secret," writes Blount, "and yet do I hear a whispering that they can find no presumptions of evil." "I have

received a letter," Dudley replies, "from one Smith, one that seemeth to be the foreman of the jury. I perceive by his letter that he and the rest have and do travail very diligently and circumspectly for the trial of the matter which they have charge of, and for anything that he or they by any search or examination can make in the world hitherto, it doth plainly appear, he saith, a very misfortune; which, for mine own part, Cousin Blount, doth much satisfy and quiet me. Nevertheless, because of my thorough quietness and all others' hereafter, my desire is that they may continue in their inquiry and examination to the uttermost, as long as they lawfully may; yea, and when these have given their verdict, though it be never so plainly found, assuredly I do wish that another substantial company of honest men might try again for the more knowledge of troth."

Here, unfortunately, our correspondence ends. There is plenty in it to suggest, and very little to contradict, the idea that Blount and Dudley bribed the jury to defeat the ends of justice—or at least that Dudley, only giving Blount half his confidence, bribed the foreman behind his back, while hypocritically parading a desire to get at the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. A modern judge, discovering such a correspondence in the course of such a case, would hardly fail to suspect something of the sort. But there is only a presumption; and it is quite impossible for us to pass the barrier that separates presumption from proof. Dudley's equivocal behaviour

may have been—and probably was—due to fear that his enemies, who were numerous and powerful, would twist facts against him. This would have been moral cowardice; but nothing that we know of Robert Dudley warrants us in crediting him with moral courage.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the inquest, though no further documents relating to it are extant, was no hole-and-corner affair. Amy Dudley's half-brother, John Appleyard, and her illegitimate brother, Arthur Robsart, were present at it. In view of the moral depravity of the age, it is just conceivable that they were bribed, but it is in the highest degree unlikely; and if they were not bribed, and if they seriously suspected Dudley, then they would hardly have failed to give Dudley's enemies the handle against him which they would unquestionably have been glad to have.

On the whole, therefore, the fact that Dudley's enemies could not convict him, and did not even try to convict him, is the historian's best reason for acquitting him. He neglected his wife shamefully—that is not disputed. Her death was no doubt a relief to him as well as an advantage. But there is no good reason for believing that he murdered her, and there is fairly good reason for believing that he did not.

CHAPTER VIII

The Burial of Amy Dudley at Oxford—The Queen's Friendship for Robert Dudley—The Grant of Kenilworth Castle—The History of the Castle—Dudley's Restorations and Improvements—James I.'s Survey of Kenilworth.

AMY DUDLEY'S body was taken from Cumnor Place to Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford, and buried with great ceremony[1] in St. Mary's Church. The Mayor and Corporation and the Heads of Colleges and Halls officially attended the funeral, and Dr. Babington preached a funeral sermon on the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

The path of ambition now seemed clear for Dudley, and Elizabeth heaped favours upon her favourite. There can be little doubt that, if she had followed her inclinations, she would have married him. One does not feel the less sure of this because she sometimes snubbed him openly, telling him, on one occasion, that "she would never marry him nor none so mean as he," and saying to him publicly at another time, "I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you that others shall not partake thereof"; or because she told a gentleman of her bed-chamber

[1] Dudley himself does not appear to have been present. A long description of the funeral is given in a Dugdale MS. in the Ashmolean Collection, printed by Mr. George Adlard.

that it would be "unlike herself and unmindful of her royal majesty to prefer her servant whom she herself had raised before the greatest Princes of Christendom." These remarks were invited by Dudley's own presumption; and the sunshine of her smiles was never long eclipsed for him. The marriage was canvassed in State papers and in the correspondence of ambassadors, and only considerations of political expediency appear to have prevented it.

Popular opinion, indeed, long regarded Dudley as the Queen's paramour. A youth, calling himself Arthur Dudley, and claiming to be her son by him, was pensioned in 1588 by Philip II. of Spain, though he was almost certainly an impostor who lied for the sake of a pension. In England several offenders went to prison for alleging that the Queen and Dudley were unduly intimate: Anne Dowe, of Brentford; Marsham, of Norwich; Robert Brooke, of Devizes; and some others. It would be equally rash to affirm that these stories were altogether true or that they were altogether false. The benefits bestowed upon Dudley, being quite out of proportion to his public services, give them a certain colour of plausibility.

He had been at Saint Quentin in the character of Master of the Ordnance; but that was almost his only title to distinction. Nevertheless, immediately on Elizabeth's accession, he was made Master of the Horse and sworn of the Privy Council, and in 1564 was created Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester. Other appointments given to him, quite early in the

From a photograph by H. N. King.

KENILWORTH CASTLE.

reign, were those of Chancellor of the County Palatine of Chester, High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. More substantial benefits were the grant of the Manor, Lordship, and Castle of Kenilworth; the Lordship and Castle of Denbigh; lands in Lancashire, Surrey, Rutland, Denbigh, Carmarthen, York, Cardigan, and Brecknock; the Manors of Caldecote and Pelynge in Bedfordshire; and sixteen other estates in different parts of England and Wales. Last, but not least, he was accorded four licences to export wool. These various advantages raised him from comparative poverty to be one of the richest men in the kingdom. He was able to spend £60,000—a sum equal to more than half a million of our money—in the extension and improvement of Kenilworth Castle.

At Kenilworth, on several occasions, but notably in 1575, he entertained the Queen. This last-named entertainment was the greatest and most gorgeous of the reign. The entertainment at Warwick Castle, which we have described, was far eclipsed by it. Before giving our account of the "princely pleasures" enjoyed there, let us pause to say something about the scene of the diversions.

Kenilworth Castle, like Warwick Castle, claims an Anglo-Saxon origin; but it differs from Warwick Castle in that the claim is not allowed by the antiquaries. "More to the north-east," says Camden,[1] "where a number of small streams, uniting among parks, form

[1] Camden's "Britannia," 1789, vol. ii., p. 239.

a lake, which, soon after being confined in banks, makes a canal, stands Kenilworth, anciently called Kenelworda, though now corruptly called Killingworth, which gives name to a large, beautiful, and strong castle, surrounded by parks, not built by Kenulphus, Kenelmus, or Kinegilsus, as some dream, but as can be made to appear from records by Galfridus Clinton, Chamberlain to King Henry I."

We can begin, therefore, no further back than these Norman times; and we have to come to early Plantagenet times before we find any facts worth recording. In 1172, it seems, Henry II. garrisoned the Castle to resist his son Henry's insurrection. A little later we find the Castle lapsing from the Clintons to the Crown, and held for the Crown by the successive sheriffs of the counties of Warwick and Leicester. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was appointed governor in 1243, and tenant for life, with remainder to his wife Eleanor,[1] in 1253. After the battle of Evesham it stood a six months' siege, only surrendering on December 21st, 1265. The Crown then took it again, but only to confer it, in 1267, upon the King's second son, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. His son Thomas forfeited it in the civil wars of Edward II.

John de Somery, Baron of Dudley, next became one of its custodians, to hold it for the King's use. It was next given to Henry of Lancaster, from whom it descended to John of Gaunt, and Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV. It then remained, for

[1] Sister of Henry III.

some generations, a royal property, Henry VII. uniting it to the Dukedom of Cornwall. Mr. Adlard, in his "Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester," prints documents demonstrating that it came into the hands of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

We first see Dudley writing to Lord Keeper Cromwell to ask for it. "If," he writes, "it might please your good Lordship to be so good Lord unto me to be a means for me to the King's Highness for the office of Kenilworth, I were much bound to your Lordship; if not, your Lordship may do your pleasure for any other that you shall think meeter for it, for no man hath knowledge hereof by me but your Lordship."

We know that he got what he wanted from this extract from the Privy Council Register, dated October 8th, 1553:—

"At Westminster, the 8th Oct., 1553. A letter to the Lord Rich and other the Commissioners for the attainted goods, to deliver unto the Duchess of Somerset, or to such as she shall send to receive the same, by bill indented, all such household stuff as remaineth in Kenilworth, lately belonging to the late Duke of Northumberland, and to send hither the said bill of the parcels that shall be delivered, to the end it may be considered whether the same be sufficient, or too much, for her furniture."

By Dudley's attainder the Castle reverted to Queen Mary, from whom it passed to Queen Elizabeth, who granted it to Robert Dudley, as we have seen.

Dudley, as has already been mentioned, spent

£60,000 on restorations and improvements, doing for it pretty much what Sir Fulke Greville was afterwards to do for Warwick Castle, though with less durable results. "He spared for no cost," says Dugdale, "in enlarging, adorning, and beautifying thereof; witness that magnificent gate-house towards the north, where formerly having been the back of the Castle, he made the front, filling up a great proportion of the wide and deep double ditch wherein the water of the pool came. And, besides that stately piece on the south-east part, still bearing the name of Leicester's Buildings, did he raise from the ground two goodly towers at the head of the pool, viz., the Floodgate or Gallery tower, standing at one end of the tilt-yard, in which was a spacious and noble room for ladies to see the exercises of tilting and barriers."

What was the result of these embellishments we know from a survey of the reign of James I. I have no space to give it all, but I must make a substantial extract :—

"The Castle of Kenilworth, situate upon a Rock.

"1. The circuit thereof within the walls containeth seven acres, upon which the walks are so spacious and fair, that two or three persons together may walk upon most places thereof.

"2. The Castle, with the four gate-houses, all built of freestone, hewen and cut; the walls, in many places, fifteen and ten foot thickness, some more, and some less; the least four foot in thickness square.

"3. The Castle and four gate-houses, all covered with lead, whereby it is subject to no other decay than the glass, through the extremity of the weather.

"4. The rooms of great state with the same; and such as are able to receive his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince at one time, built with as much uniformity and conveniency as any houses of later time; and with such stately cellars; all carried upon pillars, and architecture of freestone, carved and wrought as the like are not within this kingdom; and also all other houses for officers answerable.

"5. There lieth about the same in chases and parks £1,200 per annum, £900 whereof are grounds for pleasure; the rest in meadow and pasture thereto adjoining, tenants and freeholders.

"6. There joineth upon this ground a park-like ground, called the King's Wood, with fifteen several coppices lying all together, containing 789 acres, within the same; which, in the Earl of Leicester's time, were stored with red deer. Since which the deer strayed, but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of timber, and other trees of much value upon the same.

"7. There runneth through the said grounds, by the walls of the Castle, a fair pool, containing 111 acres, well stored with fish and fowl; which at pleasure is to be let round about the Castle.

"8. In timber and woods upon this ground, to the value (as hath been offered) of £20,000 (having a convenient time to remove them), which to his

Majesty in the survey are to be valued at £11,722, which proportion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest upon the other values to his Majesty.

"9. The circuit of the Castle, manors, parks, and chase lying round together, contain at least nineteen or twenty miles, in a pleasant country; the like, both for strength, state, and pleasure, not being within the realm of England."

Such was the Kenilworth to which Queen Elizabeth came to be diverted by her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in 1575. Two contemporary accounts of the diversions are extant. One is by Robert Laneham,[1] and entitled "A Letter wherein Part of the Entertainment unto the Queen's Majesty at Killingworth[2] Castle, in Warwickshire, in this Summer's Progress [1575] is signified: from a friend officer attendant unto the Court unto his friend, a citizen and merchant of London." The other is George Gascoigne's[3] "The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle, etc."

[1] Robert Laneham was educated at St. Paul's School, and had a patent for supplying the Royal Mews with beans. He was presently appointed to the office of Clerk of the Council Chamber door, his function being to prevent the inquisitive from listening at the key-hole.

[2] Kenilworth is often so written in Elizabethan documents.

[3] George Gascoigne was the son and heir of Sir John Gascoigne, a Cambridge man, and a student at Gray's Inn. Having squandered his substance in riotous living, he went to Holland and served under William the Silent, distinguishing himself at the siege of Middleburg. After his return he lived in chambers in Gray's Inn and wrote books. Leicester employed him to assist in the preparation of the masques and pageants. He died young, in 1577. Of the first edition of his "Princely Pleasures," according to Mr. Adlard, only one copy is known; but there was another edition printed in 1587.

CHAPTER IX

The Kenilworth Festivities—Addresses in Prose and Verse—The Tumbler—The Morris Dance—The Mock Wedding—Tilting at the Quintain—The Masque that was suppressed, and the Probable Reason for its Suppression.

NOTHING quite like the Kenilworth festivities had ever happened in the land before. If the Earl of Leicester was not a great man, he was at least a great Master of the Ceremonies. Elegance and pomp and pageantry were things that he understood. His organisation and direction of them amounted very nearly to genius. The theatres of his period could have taught him little, and could have learnt much from him. He knew how to use all the arts simultaneously for the purpose of spectacular display. Let us try to reconstruct the spectacle from the records of those who witnessed it.

It began when her Majesty drove up in state at eight of the clock on a July evening from Long Itchington, where she had dined. "In the Park," says Laneham, "about a flight-shoot from the brays and first gate of the Castle, one of the ten Sibyls, that we read were all Fatidicæ and Theobulæ, as parties and privy to the Gods' gracious good wills, comely clad in a pall of white silk, pronounced a proper poesy in English rhyme and metre." It was an ode of

From a picture by T. Allon.

THE FESTIVITIES AT KENILWORTH IN HONOUR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

welcome, written by M. Hunnis, Master of her Majesty's Chapel.

The Queen accepted the address "benignly," and passed on. As she approached the great gate, there was a loud blast of trumpets, and then the porter appeared. He made a gesture as though he would bar the entrance, and then at last, "being overcome by view of the rare beauty and princely countenance of her Majesty, yielded himself and his charge, presenting the keys unto her Highness with these words:—

"What stir, what coil is here? Come back, hold, whither now?
Not one so stout to stir. What harrying have we here?
My friends, a porter I, no poper here am plac'd:
By leave perhaps, else not while club and limbs do last.
A garboil this indeed. What, yea, fair Dames? what, yea,
What dainty darling's here? O God, a peerless pearl;
No worldly wight no doubt, some sovereign Goddess sure:
Even face, even hand, even eye, even other features all,
Yea beauty, grace, and cheer, yea port and majesty,
Shew all some heavenly Peer, with virtues all beset.
Come, come, most perfect paragon, pass on with joy and bliss,
Most worthy welcome, Goddess guest, whose presence gladdeth all.
Have here, have here, both club and keys, myself, my wand, I yield,
E'en gates and all, yea Lord himself, submit and seek your shield."

These verses were composed and recited by no less a personage than Master Badger of Oxford, Master of Arts and Bedel. As he delivered them, he handed to the Queen his club and keys, with humble apologies for his error; and as her Majesty entered the inner court, a third surprise awaited her. In the

midst of the pool there appeared a nymph, who, "upon a movable island, bright blazing with torches, floated to land, and met her Majesty with a well-penned metre"—the composition of Mr. Ferrers,[1] sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court—relating the history of the Castle from the earliest times.

And then a fourth surprise! As the Queen passed over the bridge, she observed set out on the posts of it "sundry presents and gifts of provision: as wine, corn, fruits, fishes, fowls, instruments of music, and weapons for martial defence. All which were expounded by an actor clad like a Poet," who read Latin verses from an illuminated scroll. He was a grave and reverend senior, one William Muncaster, at that time head-master of the Merchant Taylors' School, and subsequently head-master of St. Paul's. He appeared, not in sober academical attire, but in "a long ceruleous garment with wide sleeves," and he had "a bay garland" on his head. When he had finished his recitation, the Queen went to bed.

So Saturday ended, and Sunday was a comparatively quiet day. In the morning there was divine service; in the afternoon "excellent music of sundry sweet instruments and dancing of Lords and Ladies"; in the evening fireworks,—"which were both strange and well executed; as sometimes passing under the water a long space, when all men had thought they had been quenched, they would rise and mount

[1] A barrister who had translated Magna Charta into English, and sat in Parliament for Plymouth in the reign of Henry VIII.

out of the water again, and burn very furiously until they were utterly consumed."

On Monday there was a return to flattering allegory. The Queen went hunting in the afternoon; and as she rode home by torchlight, "out of the woods there came roughly forth *Hombre Salvagio* (*i.e.* a Savage Man) with an oaken plant plucked up by the roots in his hand, himself fore-grown all in moss and ivy." It was Master Gascoigne in disguise, desiring to recite a poem of his own composition. He professed to be dazzled by the sudden splendour that he saw. "Vouchsafe," he cried—

"Vouchsafe yet, greatest God,
that I the cause may know,
Why all these worthy Lords and Peers
are here assembled so?
Thou knowest (O mighty God)
no man can be so base,
But needs must mount, if once it see
a spark of perfect grace."

Then the Savage Man burst out into a whirlwind of compliment:—

"O Queen (without compare),
you must not think it strange,
That here amid this wilderness
your glory so doth range.
The winds resound your worth,
the rocks record your name:
These hills, these dales, these woods, these waves,
these fields pronounce your fame."

And so on for many stanzas. At last he threw his

staff away, and Master Laneham tells us (though Master Gascoigne does not) that it very nearly hit her Majesty's horse on the head, to the consternation of all present. But no harm was done. "'No hurt, no hurt,' quoth her Highness. Which words, I promise you, we were all glad to hear, and took them to be the best part of the play."

Tuesday and Wednesday again were quiet days. Thursday was distinguished by bear-baiting and the acrobatics of an Italian tumbler: "feats of agility in goings, turnings, tumblings, castings, hops, jumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambols, summersets, caperings, and flights, forward, backward, sideways, downward, and upward, with sundry windings, gyrings, and circumflexions." Laneham compares the performer to "a lamprey that has no bone but a line like a lute string." Of Friday and Saturday his narrative records little, except that the weather was bad. On Sunday there was abundant merriment. There was, to begin with, divine service and "a fruitful sermon"—fruitful of what we are not told—and then "a solemn bridal of a proper couple was appointed," a mock wedding to illustrate the rural sports and pastimes:—

"And thus were they marshalled. First, all the lusty lads and bold bachelors of the parish, suitably habited every wight, with his blue buckram bride-lace upon a branch of green broom (because rosemary is scant there) tied on his left arm, for on that side lies the heart; and his alder pole for a spear in his right hand, in martial order ranged on afore, two and two

in a rank: Some with a hat, some in a cap, some a coat, some a jerkin, some for lightness in doublet and hose, clean bruss'd with points afore; some boots and no spurs, this spurs and no boots, and he again neither one nor other: One had a saddle, another a pad or a pannel fastened with a cord, for girths were

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S SADDLE.
Now at Warwick Castle.

geason: And these to the number of sixteen wights, riding men and well beseen: But the bridegroom foremost in his father's tawny worsted jacket, (for his friends were fain that he should be a bridegroom before the Queen,) a fair straw hat with a capital crown, steeple-wise on his head; a pair of harvest gloves on his hands, as a sign of good husbandry; a pen and ink-horn at his back, for he would be

known to be bookish; lame of a leg that in his youth was broken at football; well beloved of his mother, who lent him a new muffler for a napkin, that was tied to his girdle for losing it. It was no small sport to mark this minion in his full appointment, that, through good tuition, became as formal in his action as had he been a bridegroom indeed; with this special grace by the way, that even as he would have framed to himself the better countenance, with the worst face he looked."

The sports that followed the mock ceremony were a morris dance and tilting at the quintain—a bag of sand that swung round upon the slightest blow. "By my troth," says Laneham, "'twas a lively pastime; I believe it would have moved a man to a right merry mood, though it had been told him that his wife lay dying." It was followed by a performance given by "certain good-hearted men of Coventry," under the direction of "Captain Cox, an odd man, by profession a mason," illustrating an ancient episode in the history of the town, when the English fought against the Danes, and "twice the Danes had the better, but, at the last conflict, beaten down, overcome, and many led captive for triumph by our English women."

Nor was that all. After supper there was "a play of a very good theme presented . . . so set forth by the actors that pleasure and mirth made it seem very short, tho' it lasted two good hours and more." And after the play there was a second supper—"an

ambrosial banquet"—of three hundred dishes, of which it is not surprising to read that "her Majesty ate smally or nothing." After the feast, again, there was to have been a masque—"for riches of array of an incredible cost"—but the hour was so late that it was countermanded, to the chagrin of Master Gascoigne, who had composed it. He prints it in full, however; and the closing lines suggest that there may have been other reasons besides the lateness of the hour for its suppression. The hint of an impending royal wedding may well have been deemed too broad, for we find Iris thus declaiming:—

"How necessary were
for worthy Queens to wed,
That know you well, whose life always
in learning hath been led.
The country craves consent,
your virtues vaunt each self,
And *Jove* in heaven would smile to see
Diana set on shelf.
His Queen hath sworn (but you)
there shall no more be such:
You know she lies with *Jove* a-nights,
and night-ravens may do much.
Then give consent, O Queen,
to *Juno's* just desire,
Who for your wealth would have you wed,
and, for your farther hire,
Some Empress will you make,
she bade me tell you thus:
Forgive me (Queen), the words are hers,
I come not to discuss:
I am but messenger,
but sure she bade me say,

That where you now in princely port
have past one pleasant day,
A world of wealth at will
you henceforth shall enjoy
In wedded state, and therewithal
hold up from great annoy
The staff of your estate:
O Queen, O worthy Queen,
Yet never wight felt perfect bliss,
but such as wedded been."

On the Monday, however, there were further poetical recitations. Her Majesty, returning from the chase, "came there upon a swimming mermaid (that from top to tail was eighteen feet long), *Triton*, Neptune's blaster: who, with her trumpet formed of a wrinkled welk, as her Majesty was in sight, gave sound very shrill and sonorous, in sign he had an embassy to pronounce." He pronounced it; and then came the Lady of the Lake, floating upon bulrushes, with two attendant nymphs, and a story taken from Sir Thomas Malory's "La Morte d'Arthur," and happily made topical.

And then came Proteus, also with verses to declaim; and then her Majesty showed her good pleasure by conferring the honour of knighthood upon five gentlemen—Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Henry Cobham, Sir Thomas Stanhope, Sir Arthur Basset, and Sir Thomas Tresham—and also by curing ten sufferers from the king's evil by the royal touch.

This was the culminating ceremonial. The other princely pleasures were of a more ordinary character

until the day came when her Majesty took her departure. It seems that she decided to go somewhat sooner than she had intended. Whereupon "the Earl commanded Master Gascoigne to devise some farewell worth the presenting; whereupon he himself, clad like unto *Sylvanus*, god of the woods, and meeting her as she went on hunting, spoke (*ex tempore*) as followeth."

But it was a long speech—much too long to be transcribed; and an empty speech—much too empty to be analysed. It led up to a recitation and a song by one *Deep-desire*, that stepped out of a holly-bush. The recitation was a plea that the Queen would stay and give further pleasure to the woods and the waves and the fowls and the fishes and the deer, as well as to the Earl of Leicester and the woodland deities; and the song lamented her going.

The song ended, *Silvanus* spoke a few final words:—

"Most gracious Queen, your loyal lieges know that your Majesty is so highly favoured of the gods, that they will not deny you any reasonable request. Therefore I do humbly crave on Deep-desire's behalf, that you would either be a suitor for him unto the heavenly powers, or else but only to give your gracious consent that he may be assured that heaven will smile, the earth will quake, men will clap their hands, and I will always continue an humble beseecher for the flourishing estate of your Royal Person. Whom God now and ever preserve, to his good pleasure and our great comfort. Amen."

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VIOL.
Now at Warwick Castle.

And so the princely pleasures end. One cannot leave them without noting the contrast between the tone of the farewell verses and speeches, and that of the masque prepared by Master Gascoigne, and at the last moment countermanded. Coupled with Master Gascoigne's note about the Queen "hastening her departure from thence," it suggests an interesting inference which seems to have escaped the historians. Leicester, I should imagine, had once more sued for the Queen's hand in the course of the festivities, had had Gascoigne's masque prepared in confident anticipation that his suit would be accepted, had hurriedly withdrawn it when disconcerted by rejection, and was now splendidly covering his retreat.

CHAPTER X

Leicester's Marriage to Douglas, Lady Sheffield—Did he poison her?—Leicester in the Low Countries—His Failure as a General—His Relations with the Borough of Warwick—He Visits the Borough in State—His Benefactions—His Good Advice to Mr. Thomas Fisher—An Attempt to estimate his Character.

WHETHER Leicester aspired to marry Queen Elizabeth or not, his regard for her did not prevent him from marrying other women. We have spoken at length of his marriage to Amy Robsart. There are now two other marriages to be spoken of.

In 1571 Leicester contracted himself to, and in 1573 he married, Douglas, Lady Sheffield, daughter of William Howard, first Lord Howard of Effingham, grand-daughter of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, and widow of John, second Baron Sheffield, who had died in 1568. According to Dugdale, they were privately married in a house in Cannon Row, and two years afterwards the ceremony was again more solemnly performed "in her chamber at Asher (or Esher), in Surrey, by a lawful minister, according to the form of matrimony by law established in the Church of England, in the presence of Sir Edward Horsey, Knight, that gave her in marriage, as also of Robert Sheffield, Esq., and his wife, Dr. Julio, Henry Frod-

From a painting by George Perfect Harding.

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

sham, gentleman, and five other persons whose names are not specified."

Two days after the former, or secret, marriage the new Countess of Leicester gave birth to a son. Upon

the validity of that marriage, therefore, that son's legitimacy depends. It is a question upon which there has been litigation; and we shall have to return to it presently. Here it is enough to note that Leicester was not long in tiring of his Countess. He offered her £700 a year to ignore the marriage, and when that offer was indignantly rejected he was reputed to have tried to poison her (as he was already reputed to have poisoned her husband), and to have so far succeeded as to have caused the loss of her hair and nails.

It is a ghastly charge. But such charges were bandied freely in the Elizabethan age, poison having been brought over from Italy, together with culture, during the Renaissance. Men called each other poisoners as lightly as a little earlier they had called each other traitors. The accusations were certainly more often false than true, and in the absence of strict proof it is safer to disbelieve them. In Leicester's case responsible opinion seems to have treated the story as idle rumour, for it was about this time that the citizens of Tewkesbury presented him with "a cup of silver and gilt" and "an ox of unusual size."

Presently, however, the Countess consented to ignore the marriage, and gave practical demonstration of her consent by marrying Sir Edward Stafford, of Grafton, in 1578. Leicester made instant use of his freedom by marrying, in the course of the same year, Lettice Knollys, the widow of Walter Devereux, first

Earl of Essex, another alleged victim of his alleged poisoning proclivities. About this marriage there was neither doubt nor obscurity. The ceremony was performed twice over—first at Kenilworth, and then at Wanstead, in the presence of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, Lord North, Sir Francis Knollys, the lady's father, and others. His third wife survived him, and married Christopher Blount.

Of Leicester's public career during this, the latter, portion of his life, it is hardly necessary to speak at very great length. His third marriage brought about a temporary breach of friendship with his sovereign. Though she had declined to marry him, and even, as we have observed, decorated her refusal with expressions of disdain, she suffered from what Virgil calls *Spretæ injuria formæ*, and even wanted to send Leicester to the Tower. She was advised, however, to do nothing of the sort, and the advice was good. There could have been no surer way of making people talk, and they were already talking quite enough. Ultimately she took him into favour again, and in 1585 sent him with an army to invade the Low Countries.

In so far as the war was a pageant, Leicester was an admirable general. At Utrecht he received extravagantly laudatory addresses with a perfect grace. At Leyden he inaugurated a series of festivities which Leyden still remembers. An imitation of them was given as recently as 1870, in the *cortège* arranged to celebrate the two hundred and ninety-fifth anniversary

of the foundation of the Leyden High School. At the Hague he had himself proclaimed as Governor, and surrounded himself with a Court.

All this was very well as far as it went, but it did not go quite far enough. There were also some military operations to be conducted, and in these Leicester did not excel. He could not get on with his Dutch colleagues, whom he called "churls and tinkers," and he was out-manœuvred by the Duke of Parma. Such glory as was won in the war fell to Prince Maurice and Sir Philip Sidney. Its most glorious episode was the battle of Zutphen, in which Sir Philip Sidney fell. "Thy necessity is greater than mine," he said, it will be remembered, and passed on to one of his men the glass of water that had been brought to him. But the campaign as a whole was most inglorious. Leicester lost Nuys, and Grave, and Deventer, and Sluys, while his army wasted away. At last he was recalled, and then a happy thought struck him. To celebrate his departure he had a medal struck bearing the motto "Invitus desero non Gregem sed ingratos." It was a splendid piece of bravado, thoroughly characteristic of the man. In war, as in love, Leicester was an adept at covering his retreat. His behaviour always presented the illusion of genius when that was the task in hand. He had at least mastered the great art of always appearing to be greater than he was.

In the eyes of the citizens of Warwick, of course, he always appeared to be great. He appears again

and again in the "Black Book" as their benefactor, taking an intelligent interest in their affairs. We have already seen him side by side with his brother, the Earl of Warwick, remonstrating against the misuse of endowments and irregularities in the conduct of elections. He was probably more popular when he "appeared in suing to her Majesty and obtaining of her and the whole Parliament license and grant to erect and build in Warwick or Kenilworth one hospital,[1] and to endow the same with lands and tenements to the yearly value of two hundred pounds."

In view of this public service a public reception was naturally arranged for him when he came to visit the town. We have the report of the discussion: "Upon information given to the House that the said Earl of Leicester was well provided of muttons, it was agreed that a yoke of good oxen should be prepared and bestowed on the said Lord." As to the question of going out to meet him and the Earl of Warwick, "it was agreed that the said Lords being but subjects must not have such Duty as the Prince," and therefore "it was not thought meet to go out of the town, but, being ready in the town, to offer welcoming to the said Lords with their present."

[1] The Leicester Hospital. "Originally belonging," says Mr. Kemp, "to the Guilds of the Holy Trinity and St. George, it passed from them to the Corporation, by whom it was granted to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for the purposes of a Hospital. Through a gateway you enter the Courtyard, which is surrounded on three sides by buildings; on the right is a covered staircase leading to a gallery, open to the Courtyard. At the head of the staircase is a hall, now divided into rooms for the Brethren." I give, in an appendix, a translation of the Deed of Gift.

The question further arose "whether it was necessary to yield thanks to the said Earl of Leicester for his honorable good mind toward this country and borough"; whereupon "it was answered and resolved not to give any thanks or to take knowledge of his disposition that way unless it might like him, either by himself or some about him, to give occasion thereof."

Thus did the burgesses stand upon their dignity, with the result that they presently discovered that platform to be insecure. The Earl of Leicester had his own views as to what was a suitable reception for him, as the burgesses soon discovered:—

"Divers of the said Earl's servants imputed the great offence of the Bailiff and his company loudly and openly to some of their faces: in that their Lord coming down into this country where both he and his brother were great possessioners, and where they meant to do so great good, and in especially coming through the Earl of Warwick's town, they would not do so much as bid the Earl of Leicester welcome, but hid themselves. Adding further that if the said Earl, being in such place as he is, and in such credit with the Prince as he is known to be, had come to Bristol, Norwich, or any other city or good town of this land where he hath less to do than he hath here, he should have been received by the Mayor and officers in most seemly manner; but this town was so stout that they regarded not of his Lordship."

A pointed slight from my lord himself followed.

From a photograph by Charles Geard.

THE LEICESTER HOSPITAL, WARWICK.

The oxen were ready, and the bailiff and his worshipful company were ready to present them; but we read:—

"Howsoever it happened, when the said Earls came by where the said Bailiff and his company stood, which then put the Bailiff and the rest doing their duties unto them, the said Earl of Leicester passed by them hastily, saying he would not charge the town so much, and would not look towards the said Bailiff and his company, but rode still unto the house, and so the said Bailiff and his company, both disappointed of their interview and half amazed, knew not what to do."

They conferred upon the situation, however, and decided to apologise, "laying the fault only to John Butler." Their excuses were duly conveyed by "Mr. Hubend and Mr. Dudley," who presently returned with the intimation that "my Lord had great marvel that they would no better serve themselves to him coming to his brother's town, but at their instance had remitted that their offence upon condition that from thenceforth they would serve themselves more dutifully unto his Lordship." So the peace was made, and it was arranged that, the next day being Sunday, the officers of the town should attend his lordship to church. Let us note the order of the great procession:—

"The said Bailiff and Burgesses and Assistants came to the Priory, where they were placed and appointed to wait upon the said Lord in this manner: First the commoners, in gowns, should go foremost,

two and two together. Then, next after the constables, 4 constables to go on a rank with little white sticks in their hands; then next after them should follow the 12 Principal Burgesses, two and two, in order, the youngest going foremost. Then, after the Principal Burgesses, followed such of my Lord's gentlemen and gentlemen of the shire as that day waited upon him; then after the gentlemen came the Serjeant bearing his Mace; then next after the Serjeant followed the Bailiff alone in a gown. After him came Mr. William Gorge, that day Steward to my Lord, Mr. Robert Christmas, Treasurer to my Lord, and Mr. Thomas Dudley, Comptroller to my Lord, all with white staves as officers all in one rank. Then, next them, followed Dragon Pursuivant at Arms, and Clarenceux King at Arms, both in Court armour. And then came my said Lord the Earl of Leicester by himself."

Observe the impression which the Earl of Leicester made. We must repeat:—

"And then came my said Lord the Earl of Leicester by himself, apparelled all in white, his shoes of velvet, his stocks of hose knit silk, his upper stocks of white velvet lined with cloth of silver, his doublet of silver, his jerkin white velvet drawn with silver, beautified with gold and precious stones, his girdle and scabbard white velvet, his robe white satin embroidered with gold a foot broad, very curiously, his cap black velvet with a white feather, his collar of gold beset with precious stones, and his garter

about his leg of St. George's order, a sight worthy the beholding.

"And yet surely all this costly and curious apparel was not more to be praised than the comely gesture of the said Earl, whose stature, being reasonable, was furnished with all proportion and lineaments of his body and parts, answerable in all things, so as in the eyes of this writer he seemed the only goodliest personage made in England, which peradventure it might be asserted. But surely to all beholders it was a sight most commendable."

It is truly a vivid picture of the Earl in his most characteristic posture as the central figure of a pageant, and worth looking at a little longer. Let us observe the splendour of the ceremony in church:—

"Over the place where my Lord sat was fastened my Lord's own arms, environed with the garter, and without the garter a wreath of gold after the French order, in manner of knots, being scallop shells. So far of the choir as have seats was hanged on both sides with rich cloth or leather of gold, very fair. All the rest of the chancel was hanged with arras and tapestry, and round about were forms set for the nobles, gentlemen, and others to sit upon to hear the sermon. On the stall before my Lord lay a rich cloth with a fair and costly cushion. On the Communion Table was laid another fair cloth of Arras. Before the table was laid a Turkey carpet whereon my Lord kneeled when he offered. Which carpet was spread by two gentlemen, whereof the one was

his gentleman usher. . . . At the coming into the choir my Lord made low curtsey to the French King's arms, being under the cloth of state, and so was brought by the heralds to his own place where he sat and heard the sermon.

"After the sermon ended a minister went to the Communion Table, and standing at the North side thereof he read the service of the Communion until he came to the exhortations of alms and relief of the poor. Then the said minister went to the midst of the table, and taking in hand a bason of silver there ready, the children and others of the Church sang a psalm, whilst the herald Clarenceux went to my Lord, and making curtsey to him my Lord arose and followed the herald till he came before the place where the French King's arms stood, and there the said Earl made a very low curtsey from thence, and, both the heralds going before, my Lord came up to the Communion Table where the minister stood with his bason, and there the said Earl kneeling down upon a cushion of white tissue, he kissed the bason and offered one piece of gold, and then rising he went down again, right against the place where he before had sat, and there both he and the herald made another low curtsey before his own arms, and then was brought up again on the other side of the choir by the said heralds to the said Communion Table, and there offered into the bason another piece of gold. Which done, the said heralds brought him again into his own place, where, sitting down and

kneeling, he heard the rest of the prayers until the end. And so, in the same order as he came to the Church, he with all the rest returned to the Priory, where, very solemnly, he kept the feast with liberal bounty and great cheer, himself sitting in a parlour by himself, without any company, kept the state and was served with many dishes, all covered and upon the knee with arraye."

Rarely, even in Elizabethan literature, do we find such a diorama of pomp and pride. It is good to be able to get the picture from a spectator whose eyes were dazzled by it. It is almost an anticlimax to read that the Earl, afterwards, not only thanked the bailiff and his company, but "took them all by the hands to their great rejoicing." But his haughty demeanour was not incompatible with a genuine interest in the town's affairs. The fact comes out in the long report in our "Black Book" of an interview which Mr. Thomas Fisher had with him at Greenwich concerning his contemplated benefaction to the borough.

Mr. Fisher wanted, among other things, money to augment the incomes of sundry important officials. His representations throw an interesting light upon the value of money at the period. He was particularly concerned about the revenues of the various vicars and the schoolmaster. These, when granted, were "thought somewhat reasonable for men to live poorly upon"; but they no longer fulfilled that modest purpose, "the prices of all things being since that time risen, and every man's charge also increasing by

reason of wives and children," so that the money was not "sufficient for the sustaining of learned men with their families increased." Mr. Fisher asked, therefore, that it might "like his honour to have some consideration thereof, and be means unto the Queen's Majesty to bestow on the town some such tithes as yet remain in her Majesty's disposition towards the increasing of the said ministers' livings." The stipend of the Vicar of St. Mary's, he suggested, should be raised from £20 to £30 or £40 a year; that of the Vicar of St. Nicholas' from £13 6s. 8d. to £20; and that of the Vicar of Budbrook from £6 3s. 4d. to £10; and that of the head-master of the Grammar School from £10 to £20. "And so," he urged, "those places might be furnished with learned and meet men, God's word sincerely taught, and the people of the same town, besides the people about, with their children, better instructed."

Whereupon the Earl of Leicester proceeded to ask questions and to give advice. He was glad to hear that the citizens had "such good minds to the ministry," and desired to know "what good trade there was in the town whereby men gained." He was told that the mercers and drapers prospered, and that some "used to buy barley and to make it in malt, and so to sell it again." He quite approved, for, he said, "I know a town in Essex wherein are 4 or 5 worth £1,000 or £2,000 apiece that have no other trade but malting." But he had a further suggestion to make. "I marvel," he said, "that you do not

devise someways amongst you some special trade to keep your poor on work," adding:— .

" In mine opinion nothing would be more necessary than clothing or capping, to both which occupations is required many workmen and women; and such may therein be employed as in no faculty else. For, though they be children, they may spin and card; though they be lame they may pike and free wool, and do such things as shall keep them from idleness, and whereof some commodity may grow. . . . And because I am of that country and mind to plant myself there I would be glad to further any good device with all my heart."

Mr. Fisher explained the difficulties:—

" Many causes there were that hindered the same, especially two or three: that is chiefly the want of a stock, without which clothing in no wise could go forward (which he spake of his experience), having known divers of the town take upon them to make cloth, and because they were not able to bear the charge thereof were driven to give it over. . . . Besides that skilful men are wanting, without which also if they had a good stock it would little prevail, and also the trade of clothing is not greatly enjoyed because of the damp and stop of intercourse and many other causes."

To which arguments the Earl of Leicester replied like a practical man. As for skilful men, these might " be provided either from Coventry or from some other place if men have desire and care so to do."

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE TOMB OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

As for the stock, he would himself supply it. But if, after he had taken the trouble to supply it, the town should refuse it (as had happened at Beverley), then he "could not like of it." And Mr. Fisher humbly answered that "albeit he had no commission of them that sent him touching these matters, yet he doubted not but that offer, whensoever made unto the town, would be not only not refused but most thankfully accepted with such dutiful regard to his Lordship for so honorable consideration of their prosperous well-doings."

Decidedly it is in his relations with the borough of Warwick that Leicester appears at his best. He was dictatorial, and he stood upon his dignity; he exacted a homage that to our modern notions seems exaggerated; he was a little too prone to comport himself like a Lord Mayor's Show. But the people liked shows, and took no umbrage at that. If they were not quite so proud of him as he was of himself, still they were proud of him. If he sometimes bullied and badgered them, they rather liked the idea of being bullied and badgered by so magnificent a man. It was the price they paid—if not cheerfully, at least with resignation—for basking in the glory reflected from his stately presence.

On the whole, too, as we have seen, he bullied and badgered them for their good. Though he behaved badly elsewhere, he behaved well at Warwick; though he failed elsewhere, at Warwick he succeeded. At Cumnor one is reminded that he was an unfaithful

husband; in Holland one thinks of him as an incapable commander; the ruins of Kenilworth seem to symbolise the ruin of his reputation. At Warwick we may be permitted to think of him only as a splendid figurehead and a notable public benefactor.

And there, in the only possible halo of glory that can be contrived for him, he may be left. His doings, after his return from the Low Countries, are neither interesting nor important. His failure there, though glaring, did not cause him to lose his Sovereign's favour. He was constantly with her at the time of the preparations to withstand the Great Armada. She rode down the lines with him when the troops were mustered at Tilbury Fort, and had a patent drawn up, though Burghley's protests prevented her from signing it, appointing him Lieutenant-General of England and Ireland.

He did not live to enjoy any further proofs of Elizabeth's affection. He fell ill on a journey from London to Kenilworth of a mysterious malady described as "a continual fever," attributed by some to a dose of poison,[1] and died at his house at Cornbury,

[1] The popular account of his death, resting not on evidence but on tradition, is thus given in one of Dr. Bliss's notes to Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses": "The Countess Lettice fell in love with Christopher Blunt, of the Earl's horse, and they had many secret meetings, and much wanton familiarity, the which being discovered by the Earl, to prevent the pursuit thereof, when General of the Low Countries, he took Blunt with him, and there purposed to have him made away, and for this plot there was a ruffian of Burgundy suborned, who, watching him one night going to his lodging at the Hague, followed him, and struck at his head with a halbert or

in Oxfordshire, on September 4th, 1588. He was buried in the Lady Chapel at Warwick; and his funeral, like his life, was a pageant, costing the equivalent in our money of about £40,000.

battle-axe, intending to cleave his head. But the axe glanced, and withal pared off a great piece of Blunt's skull; which wound was very dangerous and long in healing, but he recovered, and afterwards married the Countess, who took this so ill, as that she, with Blunt, deliberated and resolved to dispatch the Earl. The Earl, not patient of the great wrong of his wife, purposed to carry her to Kenilworth, and to leave her there until her death by natural or by violent means, but rather by the last. The Countess, also, having suspicion or some secret intelligence of this treachery against her, provided artificial means to prevent the Earl, which was by a cordial, the which she had no fit opportunity to offer him till he came to Cornbury Hall, in Oxfordshire, where the Earl, after his gluttonous manner, surfeiting with excessive eating and drinking, fell so ill that he was forced to stay there. Then the deadly cordial was propounded unto him by the Countess. As Mr. William Haynes, sometime the Earl's page, and then a gentleman of his chamber, told me, who protested he saw her give that fatal cup to the Earl, which was his last draught, and an end of his plot against the Countess, and of his journey, and of himself; and so '*Fraudis fraude sua prenditur artifex.*' Which may be thus Englished: 'The cunning deviser of deceit contracted for is taken in his own snare.'"

CHAPTER XI

Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester—The Difficult Question of his Legitimacy—His Early Life—His Remarkable Adventures as a Navigator—His Marriage to the Daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh—His Elopement with Elizabeth Southwell.

MOST of the Dudleys were remarkable, and some of them were romantic; but the most romantic and remarkable of them all was Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, declared to be illegitimate by the Courts, but laying claim—not, as it would appear, unreasonably—to his father's Earldom of Leicester and his uncle's Earldom of Warwick.

His mother, as we have said, was Douglas, Lady Sheffield. We have also seen that the marriage was secretly performed and subsequently repudiated, both husband and wife contracting other marriages without the formality of divorce. Consequently Leicester, in his will, described Dudley as his "base son," and his subsequent attempt to demonstrate his legitimacy in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court of Audience was unsuccessful. We possess the evidence which he filed, however, and it seems almost conclusive in his favour. In Dr. Jebb's Life of the Earl of Leicester, published in 1727, it is thus summarised:—

"That she was his wife, seems evident from the

depositions made in the Star Chamber, in the beginning of King James's Reign, in favour of the legitimacy of Sir Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester's son by the said Lady Douglas Sheffield. For it was there deposed upon oath, by the Lady Sheffield and several other persons who were present at her marriage, that after being contracted to the Earl of Leicester about two years before, she was solemnly married to him in her chamber, at Esher in Surrey, by a lawful Minister, according to form of Matrimony established by law in the Church of England, in presence of Sir Edward Horsey, who gave her in marriage, Robert Sheffield, Esq., and his Lady, Dr. Julio, Mr. Henry Frodsham, and five other persons, whose names are there set down; that the ring, with which they were married, was set with five pointed diamonds, and a table diamond, and had been given to the Earl of Leicester by the grandfather to the then Earl of Pembroke, upon condition, that he should give it only to the Lady whom he made his wife; that the Duke of Norfolk was the principal instrument in making the match; and that the Earl of Leicester, out of a pretence of the Queen's displeasure in case it were known, had engaged her to a vow of secresy [*sic*], till he should give her leave to reveal it. It was farther deposed, that within two days after Sir Robert Dudley was born of [*sic*] Shene, the Lady Douglas received a letter from his Lordship, which was read by Mrs. Erisa, but then Lady Parker, wherein he thanked God for the birth of his said son, who might be

From a drawing by G. P. Harding.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, "THE NOBLE IMPE," SON OF ROBERT DUDLEY EARL OF LEICESTER AND THE LADY DOUGLAS SHEFFIELD.

their comfort and staff of their old age, and was subscribed, Your loving husband, Rob. Leicester; and that the said Lady was after this served in her chamber as a Countess, till he forbad it, for fear the marriage should be thereby disclosed. And besides these, there were many other depositions made, from whence it appeared, that the Earl of Leicester had owned Sir Robert Dudley as his lawful son, and that his brother, the Earl of Warwick, had in like sort asserted his legitimacy."

This testimony, however, was at the time suppressed, all the documents being impounded by the arbitrary action of the Star Chamber. A calm review of the facts leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that a great injustice was perpetrated in the interest of influential persons, and notably of Lettice Knollys, who was concerned for the validity of her own marriage. That, as we shall presently have to note, was the view taken, many years afterwards, by Charles I., when he bestowed the title of Duchess upon Dudley's widow, expressing "deep sense of the great injuries done to the said Sir Robert Dudley and Lady Alice Dudley . . . and holding ourselves in honour and conscience obliged to make them reparation now, so far as our present ability will enable us."

Having expressed our opinion, however, on the vexed question, we may leave it, and record the events of Robert Dudley's remarkable career.

In early childhood he lived with his mother; but in 1578 his father took charge of him, and sent him

to school at Offington, near Worthing, where the Earl of Warwick had a seat. The story goes that he said to the head-master, Owen Jones: "Owen, thou knowest that Robin, my boy, is my lawful son; and as I do and have charged thee to keep it secret, so I charge thee not to forget it; and therefore see thou be careful of him." But this is hearsay evidence of doubtful value. In 1587 he was entered on the books of Christ Church, Oxford, as *Comitis filius* (son of an Earl), and in 1588 we find him serving in his father's army at Tilbury. In the same year his father died, leaving him, after the death of his uncle Ambrose, the bulk of his estate, including Kenilworth. In 1589 the Earl of Warwick died, and he came into his inheritance.

There was some trouble, not mentioned in the "Dictionary of National Biography," with the step-mother about the property. The exact rights of the dispute are not very easy to make out. It would appear, however, that there was "a forcible entry made by certain the servants of Sir Christopher Blount, Knight, and others in the behalf of the Countess of Leicester, his lady, upon the Castle of Kenilworth, being then in the sole and quiet possession of Mr. Robert Dudley." Here Sir Fulke Greville, who will presently figure very prominently in our narrative, comes upon the scene. He, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Harrington, Sir Henry Goodyer, and Thomas Leigh, Esq., as Justices of the Peace, informed the Lord Chancellor of what had happened, and received the following instructions, dated April 16th, 1590:—

"We, being thus informed of these disorders, and moved on behalf of the said Mr. Dudley, for the redressing of this violent and unlawful course taken against him, as well to prevent the inconveniences which may therefore ensue, as also for the lawful preservation of his right, have thought good to address these our letters unto you in that behalf, praying and requiring you by authority hereof, as Justices of the Peace, not only to see that present force (if any be there still maintained), with the assistance of the Sheriff of that County, forthwith removed, and any like forcible and unlawful attempts that shall be hereafter moved against the gentleman, in like sort repressed according to law; but also that the gentleman's possession may be peaceably maintained by those which are or shall be authorised there for him, and the rents reserved, the Courts respited, and the game preserved, and all duly accomplished according to those former letters unto you (Sir John Harrington) directed; for which purpose you shall, in our names, also reiterate the warning given by the said letters, as well unto the tenants, as also to the Ranger and Keepers, so much as doth particularly concern them."

More particular instructions follow exactly a fortnight later :--

"We have received your letter written at Kenilworth, the 21st of this present, whereby you advertise us of your travail taken in removing of the forces assembled there together in the Castle, of which your proceedings as we deem well, so would we

better have allowed the same, if you had communicated our last letter unto Sir John Harrington, unto whose further advice we referred you, have before directed our letters unto him, the cause whereof according to our appointment you should have followed. Since which time the parties, whom the possession of the said Castle concerneth, have agreed amongst themselves, that you, Sir Fulke Greville, shall, for both parties, sequester the profits of the said Castle, reserve the rents, respite the Courts, and preserve the game, without any joint possession of the parties, until the matter in controversy be fully decided, and to require you to set the

THE ARMOUR OF SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, "THE NOBLE IMPE."

In the Armoury at Warwick Castle.

persons committed to the Gaol at Gloucester [at liberty], taking bonds to her Majesty's use, to answer the disorders by them committed, if hereafter it be called into question."

As we have said, the story cannot very easily be pieced together from the correspondence; but it is clearly the beginning of the long story of injustice. Doubtless the persecution and annoyance stimulated his desire to seek adventure on the high seas. Talk with his uncle of Warwick, who had been one of the patrons of the navigator Frobisher, may also have contributed to turn his thoughts in that direction, and another contributory influence must have been that of Thomas Cavendish, whose sister he afterwards married.

An official document[1] marks the beginning of his maritime career. The Corporation of Portsmouth was ordered to hand over to him two ships, the property of Cavendish, who had died at sea. He was adjudged too young, however, to take command of them; and he presently fitted out a small squadron on his own account, and weighed anchor from Southampton Roads on November 6th, 1594: himself in the *Bear*, of 200

[1] [1592-3.] "*At St. James's*, 18 *March*, 1592. A letter to the Mayor and Officers of the Port of Portsmouth. Whereas Robert Dudley, Esq., hath taken a letter of Administration of the goods of Thomas Cavendish, Esq., lately deceased at the seas. These shall be, notwithstanding any former letter written from the Galleon Leicester and the Roebuck, two ships that did appertain to the said Mr. Cavendish, to require you to cause the said ships, with their lading, to be delivered to Mr. Dudley, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same. Wherein we require you to give the gentleman your best help and assistance," etc., etc.

tons; Captain Monk in the *Bear's Whelp*, as vice-admiral; two small pinnaces, the *Frisking* and *Earwig*, in attendance. He was only twenty-one, if so old; and on his return he wrote an account of the voyage for Hakluyt's collection, whence I extract the most interesting passages:—

"Having parted company with my Vice-Admirall, I went alone wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine, within view of Cape Finister and Cape S. Vincent, the north and south Capes of Spaine. In which space, having many chases, I could meet with none but my countreymen, or countrey's friends. Leaving these Spanish shores, I directed my course, the 14 of December, towards the Isles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: the one, in hope to meete my Vice-Admirall; the other, to get some vessel to remove my pestered men into, who being 140 almost in a ship of 200 tunnes, there grew many sicke. I tooke two very fine caravels under the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3 sailes. In the one caravel, called the Intent, I made Benjamin Wood captaine; in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate traveller, with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies. . . .

"Riding under this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand

running in drifts like snow, and very stony; for so is all the countrey sand upon stone, (like Arabia Deserta, and Petrea,) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my caravels from the shore, who road very neere it. I now caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22 dayes we descried, and the first of Februari came to an anker under a point thereof, called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelican's bay. About 3 leagues to the eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcaziles, which glister like golde, (but all is not gold that glistereth,) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure us it was Calvori, which signifieth gold with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked and painted red, their commanders wearing crowns of feathers. These people did often resort unto my ship, and brought us hennes, hogs, plantans, potatos, pinos, tobacco, and many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with us for hatchets, knives, hookes, belles, and glassebuttons.

"The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkies, babions, and parats were in great abundance.

"Right against the northernmost part of Trinidad, the maine was called the high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucca I learned to be full of

a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone.

"The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad.

"In the high land of Paria I was informed by divers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is silver, and great store of most excellent cane-tobacco.

"This discovery of the mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutinied against my going in search of it, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendall, who would by no means go.

"I gave them their directions to follow, written under mine owne hand. But they went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes of the great River Orenoque.

"I was told of a rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the powder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and that farre beyond them there was a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things.

"In my boate's absence, there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captain Popham was chiefe, who gave us great comfort.

"I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh, (who, as wee surmised, had some purpose for this discovery,) to the ende that, by our intelligence and his boates, we might have done some good: but it seemed he came not in sixe or eight weeks after.

"And after carefully doubling the shoulder of

Abreogos, I now caused the Master (hearing by a pilote that the Spanish Fleete ment now to put out of Havana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the Fleete. The Fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many Fleetes; which companions left mee not, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cuervo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete of Her Majestie my Sovereigne, as I had intelligence, and to give them advise of this rich Spanish Fleete; but findinge none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

"Returning alone, and worse manned by half then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this Fleete of some 600 tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fifty men to board a man of warre of sixe hundreth tunnes. And having spent all my powder, I was constrained to leave her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leaving her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arrived at S. Ives in Cornwall, about the latter end of May, 1595, scaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

"Thus, by the providence of God, landing safely,

I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by divers intelligences out of Spain.

"In this voyage, I and my Fleete tooke, sunke, and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing."

It was truly a remarkable achievement for one so young; but Robert Dudley, as has been said, was a very remarkable man. "He was at this time," says Craik in his "Romance of the Peerage," "looked upon as one of the finest gentlemen in England; in his person tall and well-shaped, having a fresh and fine complexion but red-haired; learned beyond his age, more especially in the mathematics; and of parts equal if not superior to any of his family." After his return from the West Indies, he sent two ships and two pinnaces to the South Seas at his own expense, and was with the Earl of Essex and the Lord High Admiral in their expedition to Cadiz, where his gallant conduct earned him the honour of knighthood.

This was in 1596. The next few years were comparatively uneventful. In view of Dudley's wide knowledge and multifarious accomplishments, we may suppose that they were partly devoted to study. The one fact to be noted, however, is his second marriage. His first wife died without issue in 1596, and in the same year he married Alice, second daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, Knight and Baronet, of Stoneleigh,

Warwickshire, who bore him seven daughters, of whom four only call for mention: Alicia Douglassia, who died unmarried; Frances, who married Sir Gilbert Kniveton, of Bradley, Derbyshire; Anne, who married Sir Robert Holbourne, Charles I.'s Solicitor-General; and Catherine, who married Sir Richard Leveson, K.B., of Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, the ancestor of the present Duke of Sutherland.

To these years also belong Dudley's efforts to establish his legitimacy. We have a letter written by him to Arthur Atye, Leicester's secretary, with reference to "an instrument my father made," which might be produced in Court to his detriment, and praying him to "acquaint this bearer, Mr. Ward, my proctor, with your directions therein of the substance of the deed." But his endeavours were checkmated in a shameful manner.

"No sooner," we read, "had Lettice, Countess of Leicester, notice of these proceedings, than she procured an information to be filed by Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney-General, in the Star Chamber, against Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr. Babington, and others, for a conspiracy; and upon the petition of Lord Sydney, an order, issued out of that Court, for bringing in all the depositions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbishop's Commission, sealing them up, and depositing them in the Council chest. In order, however, to keep up some appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witnesses as to the

proofs of his legitimacy, in that Court; which, when he had done, in as full a manner as in such a case could be expected, a sudden order was issued for stopping all proceedings, and locking up the examinations, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence."

It is not surprising that Dudley, disgusted at this treatment, desired to go abroad, or that in the Privy Council Register for June 25th, 1605, we find a note of: "A license for Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, to travel beyond the seas for three years next after his departure, with three servants, four geldings or nags, and £80 in money, with usual provision."

Nor did he go alone. With him went, not his lawful wife, but Elizabeth Southwell, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, Norfolk, and grand-daughter of Charles, second Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, disguised as a page in his suite.

Two interesting notes on this elopement have been transcribed by Mr. John Temple Leader from the letters of the Italian minister Lotti in the Medicean archives, and are printed in his useful monograph "Sir Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland." The first, dated July 13th, 1605, runs thus:—

"The Queen [Anne of Denmark] is much put out because a married cavalier, Sir Robert Dudley, who they say is a natural son of the Earl of Leicester, has last night carried off a maid of honor of whom he was enamoured. Strict orders were promptly given

out, but at present we have heard no news. This gentleman is about 35 years of age, of exquisite stature, with a fair beard, and noble appearance. The fact has created great scandal."

The second, dated exactly a week later, is as follows:—

"That Court Lady, niece of the Lord High Admiral, who they say ran off with Sir Robert Dudley, himself nephew of an Admiral, has been stopped at *Cales* [Calais] by the Governor of that city; the expedition from here arriving almost at the same time as the fugitives. But as he found that she had taken this step, not for love, but with the object of entering a monastery and serving God in the true religion, I do not know whether the French will let her be brought back by force; on the contrary it is believed they will allow her to follow out her holy inspiration."

But Elizabeth Southwell had no intention whatever of entering a convent. A letter of a somewhat later date informs us that Dudley's "young relative is constantly seen with him in public as a kind of protest that there is no guilty concealment between them."

CHAPTER XII

Robert Dudley at Florence—His Various Achievements there—His Skill as an Engineer—As an Inventor—As a Ship-builder—His Remarkable Patent Medicine—His Book on Great Circle Sailing.

ROBERT DUDLEY went to Lyons, but did not stay long there. His principal actions there were to join the Roman Catholic Church and marry Elizabeth Southwell. As she was his cousin he had to seek a dispensation from the Pope for the purpose. He did not mention, in applying for it, that he was already a married man with a family, and his Holiness was not acquainted with the fact. Consequently the dispensation was duly granted, and the ceremony was duly performed by a Roman Catholic priest of the town.

From Lyons Robert Dudley repaired to Florence, where he sought the protection of the Grand Duke Ferdinand I., and became a tenant of Cavalier Annibale Orlandini in the Via dell' Amore. He had not been there long when the following legal instrument was served upon him:—

"*2nd February*, 1606-7.

[1607.] "A FORM OF REVOCATION OF A PASS, SIR ROBERT DUDLEY FROM FOREIGN PARTS.

"James, by the grace of God, King of England,

Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To our subject Robert Dudley, Knight, greeting. Whereas, we, out of our special favour, did grant you license to travel out of our realm of England into foreign parts, in hope that you might thereby prove the better enable to the service of us and our State, as you pretended, we do now certainly understand that contrarywise in those parts you do bear and behave yourself inordinately, and have intended and attempted many things prejudicial to us and our crown, which we cannot suffer or endure. We do, therefore, by these presents, will and straightly charge and command you, upon your faith and allegiance, and upon the pain of all that you may forfeit unto us, that forthwith upon the receipt and understanding thereof, you do, all excuses and pretences set apart, make your personal repair and return into this our realm of England with all speed, and that presently upon your arrival here, you do yield and render your body to some of our Privy Council, to the intent we may be truly advertised of the day and time of your return, and hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril. Given under our Privy Seal at our Palace of Westminster, the second day of February, in the fourth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fortieth.

(Signed) "THOMAS CLARKE.

"To our subject Robt. Dudley, Kt."

From a photograph by Charles Geard

THE INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WARWICK.

He refused to obey the summons, and his English estates were confiscated. Henry, Prince of Wales, to whom Kenilworth was granted, not wishing to take an unfair advantage of his circumstances, agreed to buy it from him for £14,500 (which was about a third of its value). The purchase, however, was never actually completed, and even the instalment of £3,000 that was paid was lost to Dudley, owing to the bankruptcy of the merchant through whom it was to have been transmitted.

In the meantime the Grand Duke had been making certain enquiries about him. The report of his London minister was not very encouraging, being coloured by the views of the Court party. "The King," Lotti wrote in cipher, "of his own accord spoke of Sir Robert Dudley, and said: 'If he had been a traitor to my own person and state, I should expect from his Highness the Grand-Duke some real sign of friendship; but as he has only erred in lightness and dishonour, I should not wish to drive him out of his Serene Highness's state; yet that he should receive Dudley in his house, and honour him as he does, seems very strange to me. He [Dudley] has a wife and children here, the Pope has annulled his marriage to the woman he has with him, and I, for my part, hold him incapable of any honorable action.'"

But the Grand Duke had already, to some extent, committed himself. "The Earl of Warwick," he had written to the Earl of Northampton, "as your Lordship is aware, has come to reside in these my

dominions that he may be able to live a quiet life, according to the religion which till now he has always observed. Besides the information I have received of his merits and valour, I have the more willingly received him, on account of his relationship with your illustrious Lordship, and knowing from him the love you bear towards him."

Moreover, he had discovered that Robert Dudley could be useful to him. So, in spite of warnings and remonstrances, he took him into his service; and neither he nor his son, the Grand Duke Cosimo II., ever had any reason to regret the step.

For the rest of his life, therefore, Robert Dudley lived at Florence; and we have occasional glimpses of his life there in the writings of various English travellers. James Wadsworth, the author of "The English and Spanish Pilgrims," wrote in 1623 that "this Dudley now enjoyeth his second wife by dispensation from his Holiness, and is in great esteem with the Archduke of Florence, in regard of his art in contriving and fabricating ships and galleys; and hath obtained of the Emperor of Germany to be declared Duke of Northumberland, who hath given him the title already, and the land when he can catch it."

Lord Herbert of Cherbury in 1614 reported:—

"I went from Rome to Florence, where I saw Sir Robert Dudley, who had the title of Earl and Duke of Northumberland given him by the Emperor, and the handsome Mrs. Sudel [Southwell], whom he carried away with him out of England, and was there

taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town.

"Taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey. When I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me and told me, if I would accept the same pension that Sir Robert Dudley had himself, being 2000 ducats per annum, the Duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Signor Loty, my ancient friend, I know not. Being thankfully acknowledged by me as a great honour, it was yet refused, my intention being to serve his Excellency in the Low Country war."

This is complete evidence of the importance of Dudley's new station in life. Happily, however, the material exists for giving a much fuller account of his various achievements. There was hardly any department of human endeavour in which he did not attain notable distinction. Let us number his useful accomplishments.

1. He was a great civil engineer. He became famous, says the "Biographia Britannica," "on account of that great project which he formed, of draining a large morass between Pisa and the sea, and raising Livorno, or Leghorn, which was then, though an ancient, yet a mean and pitiful place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole, which rendered it both safe and commodious; and having engaged His Serene Highness to declare it *scala franca*, (or a free port) he, by his influence

and correspondence, drew many English merchants to settle and set up houses there, which was a thing of great importance to our Italian trade, and, considered in that light, was of very great service to his native country."

2. He was a great free-trader. "I have heard from some living," says Anthony Wood, "that Sir R. Dudley was the chief instrument that caused the great Duke to make it (Leghorn) a *scala franca*, a free port."

3. He was a great inventor. The Florentine archives contain a patent granted to him for "a new invention to improve silk"; and the Gabinetto Fisico, in the Natural History Museum of Florence, contains several nautical instruments invented by him, including a brass instrument to find the ebb and flow of the tide in divers places.

4. He was a great physician. Anthony Wood tells us that "he had published a medical work called 'Catholicon,'" which he had never been able to get a sight of, though it was "in good esteem among physicians"; and he was the inventor of the famous Warwick Powder, which long held its place in both British and foreign pharmacopœias. I give a prescription for the preparation in case any of my readers should care to try it for their ailments:—

Antimonial tartar vitriolated	℥j.
Rosin of scammony reduced to powder with sweet almonds	℥½.
Cremor tartari	℥vj.

As regards the uses and efficacy of the mixture, I am tempted to quote at length from the account of it given by the eminent Italian physician Dr. Cornachini, whose name it bears in some of the foreign pharmacopœias, though Zwelfer correctly calls it *Pulvis comitis de Warwick*. Dr. Cornachini writes as follows:—

"It is now many years ago since Robert, Earl of Warwick, possessed of all virtues and worthy of every praise, entertained the design of rescuing our sea from barbarous pirates and atrocious plunderers, the bitter enemies of the Christian name; neither has he endeavoured with less zeal to deliver the human body from the painful ailments and perilous diseases which assail and overwhelm it. And when he saw that men and women of all classes and conditions of life, of all ages and habits, and differences of residence, at every season of the year were liable to fall into sickness, and sometimes to lose their lives, particularly by those attacks which derive their origin from peccant humours, either by reason of their quantity or quality. For the driving away of such humours, '*ad quos depellendos*,' the physician is sent for, and blood-letting resorted to, not only once or twice, but many times. Upon other occasions they resort to medicines called *sub-tinctures*, which more and more affect the mouth, palate, and taste, and by reason of their nauseousness, overturn the stomach, produce griping, constrict the bowels; neither can such medicines continue to be exhibited, however greatly the occasion

which may require them. Other symptoms also are superinduced by them; but the illustrious Earl devoted his days and nights to this subject, with a view to effect a cure of such ailment, and that too by treatment at once safe, speedy, and pleasant, (*tuto cito jucundè*,) at any time of the year, and without bleeding, which patients very often cannot bear, either by reason of their age, or the season of the year, or for other contra-indicatory symptoms, '*propter alias contra-indicationes.*' . . . At length this excellent man, after a long contemplation of the subject, came to the conclusion, that if he could discover some Powder, without taste or smell, small in quantity, but very powerful in effect, (*si pulvis aliquis insipidus, inodorus, mole quidem parvus sed virtute maximus adinveniretur*,) a Powder which could conveniently bring about all that was required, we ought to embrace it with our whole heart, and always have it ready for use. At last the Almighty was pleased to fulfil the Earl of Warwick's vows and wishes, and guide his thoughts and studies to the discovery of this Powder . . . which mildly, gently, composedly, (*blandè, placidè, sedatè*,) relieves the patient *per alvum*. When the noble Earl communicated his discovery to me about four years ago, telling me, that he would declare upon oath that he had cured six hundred persons by his Powder, who were all at that time alive, I boldly, freely, and openly answered, *audactèr, liberè, et apertè respondebam*, that his statement was neither more nor less than pure fiction; that it overthrew all the maxims

of the ancient physicians; and that a more pestilent practice could not be introduced into medicine. . . . And, finally, I exhorted him to give up his opinion upon the Powder, and its use. But all I said was in vain. He listened with no unkind feeling, but obstinately rejected all I could say. *Quæ quidem ipse omnia non ingrato animo sed obstinatione quâdam sententiæ repudiabat.*"

5. He was a great sportsman—"noted," according to Wood, "for riding the great horse, for tilting, and for his being the first of all that taught a dog to sit in order to catch partridges."

6. Finally, Robert Dudley was a great ship-builder, and a great writer on the kindred subjects of navigation and naval architecture. He began building ships for the Grand Duke almost as soon as he arrived in Tuscany. "In the Court Diary kept by Cesare Tinghi," says Targioni, "I find that in 1607 a vessel with a square sail and also oars was built from the designs of the Earl of Warwick, and that a galleon also designed by him was launched at Leghorn on March 20, 1608." Dudley has himself recorded some of this vessel's achievements:—

"She carried 64 *pezzi grossi* (great guns), was a rare and strong sailer, of great repute, and the terror of the Turks in these seas. Alone and unassisted she captured the Captain galleon of the Great Lord (*Gran Signore*), twice her own size, and valuing a million. She also, without assistance from the others, fought the Grand Turk's fleet of 48 Galleys and 2 'Galliazze,'

and made the *Generalissimo Bassia* (Bashaw) of the sea in person to fly, as she very nearly captured his Galley."

A confidential communication, in cipher, from Signor Lotti shows that he tried to bring over his old instructor in ship-building, Matthew Baker, of the Deptford Docks. "In my last letter of the 16th inst.," writes Lotti, "I told your Highness that I had been at Deptford, and under pretence of knowing something about ship-building induced Mathew Caccher to come and spend a morning with me in London. I then thought he would accept the offer of going over to Italy in the service of your Highness. But notwithstanding that he is ill satisfied here, and being now old no longer suits the heads of the profession, and that he has so little employment, that for two years he has not drawn a penny of salary—knowing also that with you he would have good pay, yet he decidedly, though much to his regret, excuses himself from coming, solely on account of his great age, he being 77 years old, and looking even more. He tells me if I will go to Deptford again, he will give me the models of some of his ships, hoping thus to be useful to your Highness even here. Asking me about his pupil Sir Robert Dudley, he expressed how willingly he would have taught his profession in Italy to oblige him. Then he told me there was a young man whom he had instructed,—but as yet he was unknown, or he would not be allowed to leave the kingdom,—and he would see if this youth would accept service under your Highness."

Dudley went on building ships, however, without

Matthew Baker's help, introducing various improvements, which were accepted and turned out satisfactorily in spite of the jealous opposition of Florentine rivals; and he also wrote a famous nautical work, entitled "Dell' Arcano del Mare" ("The Secret of the Sea").

This book expounds, among other things, the principle of Great Circle Sailing, deduced from the science of Spherical Trigonometry Each of the two volumes weighs about 16 lbs., and would require to be placed upon a lectern in order to be read. A second edition was published after the author's death. The editor, one Lucini, contributes a grandiloquent introduction, saying, after an impressive dissertation upon the power of man over the ocean, and the advantage of his circumnavigating the globe:—

"In this worthy emprise, O my Serene Lords, if one man is more signally eminent than others, it is the Duke of Northumberland, who, to make himself master of marine science, tore himself away from a great house, in which he had princely birth; and sacrificed full forty years of his life in unveiling, for the good of humanity at large, the mighty secrets of the sea; while I," naïvely adds Lucini, "for twelve years sequestered from all the world in a little Tuscan village, have consumed no less than 5000 lbs. of copper in engravings to illustrate it."

Such were Robert Dudley's public services in Florence. The detailed enumeration of them clears the ground and leaves us free to try to depict the life of the exile in that Italian city.

CHAPTER XIII

Dudley at Florence—His Attempts to restore Friendly Relations with the English Court—His Memorandum to Prince Henry on the Importance of Sea Power—His Advice to King James as to the Bridling of his Parliament and the Augmentation of his Revenue—Dudley's Endeavours to obtain the Restitution of his Property by a Threat of Reprisals on English Shipping.

WE have plenty of evidence of the high esteem in which Robert Dudley was held by the Grand Duke Ferdinand. His letters to Ambassador Lotti show it. "Here," says one letter, "he is known as a worthy knight, and of the utmost goodwill, and that he could not possibly entertain any idea of disloyalty or ill faith towards King James or his state." "It seems to us," says another letter, "that this knight shows himself every day more worthy of our protection, and especially of our efforts to prove in Rome the validity of his last marriage."

It was the same, or nearly the same, in the reign of Ferdinand's successor, Cosimo II. His wife, Maria Maddalena, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria, made Robert Dudley her Grand Chamberlain, and corresponded about him with Amerigo Salvetti, who had succeeded Lotti as minister at the Court of St. James. His prosperity at this period enabled him to buy land and build himself a palace, now the

property of the Bordoni family, in the parish of San Pancrazio—a palace of four stories (though the ground floor was let out for shops), of which he is believed to have been himself the architect. When injury was done him by the granting of the Earldoms of Leicester and Warwick to the houses of Lisle and Rich respectively—injury which he resented by composing anagrams on his name [1]—she used her influence with her brother, the Emperor, to procure him the title of Duke of Northumberland. The patent speaks of his "singular integrity of life and morals, experience, and rare and ingenious inventions," orders him to be "called, honoured, named, and reputed" by the title, and to employ it "in spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and secular matters, as well as in all business affairs and transactions," and instructs all officials throughout the Holy Roman Empire to "prevent by force" the assumption of the style by any other claimant.

Much of Robert Dudley's time at this period was taken up with attempts to restore friendly relations with the English Court, and to recover his confiscated property. Elizabeth Southwell's sister, Lady Rodney, wife of Sir Edward Rodney, possibly assisted him with her influence and advice; and one conjectures that, if Henry, Prince of Wales, had lived, he would have gained his ends. We have seen that Prince Henry behaved better than he was obliged to, and better than

[1] (1) "Robertus Dudleus. Trude sed sublevor." (2) "De trude sublevor." (3) "Re delusus deturbo."

After the picture by Daniel Mytens.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

he might have been expected to, in the matter of the Kenilworth estate. We also find that Dudley, assisted by Sir Thomas Challoner, who had been Prince Henry's tutor, tried to negotiate a marriage between him and a Tuscan Princess. A letter from Dudley

to the Grand Duchess on that subject is printed by Mr. Temple Leader; and he furthermore addressed to Prince Henry a really remarkable memorandum, anticipating some of Admiral Mahan's most characteristic opinions on the importance of sea power.

"It is held," he wrote, "for the surest reason of state amongst some of good understanding, that what king soever is most powerful by sea hath the best means to secure his own greatness; and if his ambition pass further, hath the like occasion to hazard others.

"The consequence of this proposition is to be confirmed by many examples, observed in the revolution of such like affairs, especially by the success of the late Queen of England, that so infinitely affronted the King of Spain; as also those States of the Low Country, defending very easily their long war, to his great expense and loss."

He illustrated his propositions by reference to the histories of England, France, and Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Venice, and Turkey, drawing the conclusion that "whosoever is patron of the sea commandeth the land," and drawing attention to certain inventions of his own which would secure the command of the sea to England. There were three conditions of assuring such supremacy which he claimed to have fulfilled:—

1. "First, to invent such a sort of vessel, as by the condition and quality thereof, may be better fitted for all uses required, than those already made."

2. "That the same invention may be maintained at much less charge," etc.

3. "That their employment may be by fewer men, and easier expense and readiness."

And he concluded with the following personal appeal:—

"Further, I must profess, that whereas I have found no friendship nor favor in England, but from your Highness, my gracious Master, so do I renounce all other obligation (his Majesty only excepted) but yourself, and therefore do resolve confidently not to do any of these services spoken of, upon any contentment whatsoever, unless your Highness be pleased to take the Admiralty wholly into your hands, for in these courses belonging to it, or any other of mine, I will depend upon none but his Majesty, your gracious father, and yourself. And when it shall please God I may, with my honour, return to serve you (which point I am above all things to respect, or else were unworthy to be your servant,) I can then promise divers other services, not inferior to this, as well for your profit as force, being the two chief ends I study and endeavour for you. So praying God for your Highness's long happiness, I humbly take my leave. From Florence, the 22nd of November, 1612."

Such hopes, however, as Dudley may have entertained from the friendly intervention of Prince Henry were brought to disappointment by the Prince's death, and an attempt which he made to conciliate King James I. was not successful.

He addressed to King James a memorandum entitled "A Discourse to correct the Exorbitances of Parliaments and to enlarge the King's Revenue": a very remarkable document. "Your Parliament," Dudley urged, "must be forced to alter their style and be conformable to your will and pleasure"; and to this end he made many suggestions, too long to be quoted here.

The forwarding of these propositions, however, did Dudley no good, though it got certain other people into trouble.

Nothing came of it till 1629. In that year there was handed about in MS. a tract entitled "How a Prince may make himself an absolute Tyrant." Parliament was at that period very jealous of its rights and privileges. Consequently an enquiry was instituted. The MS., it transpired, had come from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, the eminent antiquary. A clerk, whom Sir Robert Cotton had set to transcribe it, had made several transcriptions and sold them. One copy came into the hands of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, and then Lord Deputy of Ireland. Strafford laid the pamphlet before the Privy Council, and the Council cited Sir Robert Cotton, together with the Earls of Clare, Somerset, and Bedford, to appear before it at the Star Chamber.

"The means propounded in this discourse," we read in the official paper, "are such as are fitter to be practised in a Turkish state than amongst Christians, being contrary to the justice and mildness of his

Majesty's Government, and the sincerity of his intentions." The accused, therefore, who had "not only read and concealed the same from his Majesty and his Council but also communicated and divulged it to others," were bidden to go home and prepare their defences; while Sir Robert Cotton "was further told, that although it were his Majesty's pleasure that his studies should as yet remain shut up, yet he might enter into them, and take such writings, whereof he should have use, provided, that he did it in the presence of a Clerk of the Council, and that whereas the Clerk attending hath the keys of two of the studies, he might put a second lock on either of them, so that neither doors might be opened but by him and the said Clerk, both together."

Ultimately, in the midst of the proceedings, the King sent word to the Lord Keeper that "in respect of the great joy upon the birth of his son he should immediately order the proceedings to be stopped and the defendants to be discharged." But Sir Robert Cotton died soon afterwards, heart-broken at what had happened to him.

Such was the end of that story, though it was by no means the end of Dudley's endeavours to obtain his rights. In spite of the favour of the great, he was sometimes in sore need of money. We have a letter of complaint upon this subject.

"My income," he writes to Cioli, "thanks to the grace of His Serene Highness, is about 157 scudi a month. From this I pay more than 50 scudi every

month for my son Don Carlo, and give Don Ambrogio 40 scudi a month, besides 17 to his tutor; think then what remains to keep a Duke of Northumberland with three boys besides, and moreover a daughter who wants to take the veil. Then there is the expense of dressing Don Ambrogio for Court; and you know it costs a hundred scudi to buy a new suit of a style worthy the high service of so eminent a prince. Then there is the great expense of a tutor to look after him, otherwise such an inexperienced youth would spend his month's allowance in a day. Were the case different, I should be ashamed to ask anything of you, but I have no land or private income, and scarcely means enough to put my daughter into a convent, and this I can assure the Rev. Cardinal and your Excellency."

Hence his active agitation. Salvetti acted for him in London, but reported that his assumption of the title of Duke of Northumberland operated against his chances. "I have not heard whether his Majesty has yet been informed of this," he wrote, "but anyway I seem to see him hurling his thunderbolts."

So Dudley took other measures, applying to the Curia Ecclesiastica of Florence for a decree to enable him to make reprisals against the English who used the port of Leghorn. By this means he proposed to make English merchants pay him the debt which he considered that the King of England owed him. The Grand Duke disapproved, but he persisted. The following decree was actually posted on the doors of the Cathedral at Florence:—

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

THE TOMB OF SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, "THE NOBLE IMPE," IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

"This letter of Gregorius Navo, Auditor-general of the Camera Apostolica, commands by the same the Grand-Duke Ferdinand and all the other Ministers of Justice under pain of 1000 gold ducats, that they shall confiscate, and sell all or any of the goods of English Parliamentarians and the English residents, *in solidum*, excepting only professed Catholics; to the end that they may give and re-pay to Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, son of another Robert Dudley; to Cosimo Dudley, Earl of Warwick, his son; and to Elisabeth *Sathuella* (Elizabeth Southwell), wife of the above-said Robert, and to all other children which are, or shall be born to the above *coniugi*, eight millions of Pounds sterling; with other two hundred thousand pounds as interest for the same, by reason of the unfair occupation and confiscation made of the above-named Dukedom; and this according to the sentence promulgated by Pietro Niccolini, Vicar-general of the Archbishop of Florence, and confirmed by the before-mentioned Gregorius Navo."

The decree, though posted, was not carried into effect; and Dudley once more tried to obtain justice through the diplomacy of Salvetti, to whom his wife sent in an official claim for the money owing for the sale of Kenilworth to Prince Henry. Salvetti at first regarded the task as hopeless.

"With the enclosed," he wrote on November 22nd, 1630, "I give the Duchess of Northumberland an account of her *negozio*, which I fear will be little to her taste, as it becomes every day more difficult.

Treating as it does of extorting from the Royal Exchequer the sum of 12,000 scudi which her Grace claims, I confess I have not the courage to demand it, knowing the straitness of means in these parts. Besides, the debt is no longer legal, as the Duke is in a continued state of contumacy, and now has no friend at Court; like the *Maggiordomo* I have but the faintest hopes of coming out of it with honour, nevertheless I will not abandon the negotiation as far as my faithful service can go," etc.

Ultimately, however, he succeeded, and was able to send Dudley various official papers to sign and return, saying:—

"Sig. Guadagni will pay the Duke of Northumberland 8000 scudi, for which I have this day sent him the order. I beg that I may have a receipt in full, and I am very happy to have succeeded well in these intricate negotiations and to have done something to serve your Excellency."

So he got his rights—or a portion of them—at last, and lived to enjoy them until 1649, when he died at Carbello, two miles from Florence, at the great age of seventy-six.

It remains to say something about the fortunes of the two families his two wives bore him.

CHAPTER XIV

Duchess Dudley—Her Charitable Works—Her Daughters and their Husbands—Robert Dudley's Large Italian Family—The Proceedings of Carlo the Scapegrace—The Great Marriages of the Daughters—General Remarks about the House of Dudley and its Prominent Representatives.

IT has already been mentioned that Robert Dudley's deserted wife, Alice Dudley, was created Duchess Dudley by letters patent issued at Oxford in the middle of the Civil War. The patent recites the history of the litigation which prevented her husband from proving his legitimacy, and the wrongs done to him by the confiscation of his property, and describes him as "a person not only eminent for his great learning and blood, but for sundry rare endowments." It records that "our dear father, not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the said Sir Robert (as we piously believe), granted away the titles of the said Earldoms to others," repudiates any intention to "call in question nor ravel into our deceased father's actions" or to annul honours bestowed by him, but expresses "a very deep sense of the great injuries to the said Sir Robert Dudley and the Lady Alice Dudley and their children," and in view of the fact that "in justice and equity these possessions so taken from them do rightly belong unto them, or full satisfaction for the same," proceeds to make amends.

"We have conceived ourselves bound," runs the essential clause, "in honour and conscience, to give the said Lady Alice and her children such honour and precedencies, as is or are due to them in marriage or blood. And therefore we do not only give and grant, unto the said Lady Alice Dudley, the title of Duchess Dudley for her life, in England and other our realms and dominions, with such precedencies as she might have had, if she had lived in the dominions of the sacred empire; (as a mark of our favour unto her, and out of our Prerogative Royal, which we will not have drawn into dispute;) but we do also further grant unto the said Lady Katherine, and Lady Anne, her daughters, the places, titles, and precedencies of the said Duke's daughters, as from that time of their said father's creation, during their respective lives, not only in England, but in all other our kingdoms and dominions, as a testimony of our princely favour and grace unto them; conceiving ourselves oblig'd to do much more for them, if it were in our power, in these unhappy times of distraction."

This instrument was duly confirmed by Charles II. at the Restoration; and Duchess Dudley lived in the peaceable enjoyment of her honours till the great age of eighty-nine. Most of our information regarding her is contained in the funeral sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Boreman—a singular name for a divine, and reminiscent of the nomenclature of the "Pilgrim's Progress"—which first appeared about this time.

From this discourse we gather that she was

eminent for charitable works: "Her charity began at the House of God, which was first in her thoughts, as it is usually the last, or not at all, in others." She restored the Church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, bestowing upon it altar-cloths, altar-rails, marble steps, organs, service-books, communion plate, and a big bell, besides a house for the incumbent, and "a yearly stipend to the Sexton of that Church to toll the great bell when the prisoners condemned to die were passing by, and to ring out after they were executed." She gave to "the Church of Stoneley, in Warwickshire, (where her sacred body lies now entombed,) as also to the Churches of Mancetter, Leke Wotton, Ashow, Kenilworth, and Monks Kirby, £20 and upwards per annum apiece for a perpetual augmentation to the poor Vicarages of those respective Churches for ever." And she bestowed "on the same Churches, and likewise upon the Churches of Bidford in the foresaid county of Warwick, Acton in Middlesex, S. Albans in Hertfordshire, Patshill in Northampton, divers pieces of fair and costly plate, to be used at the celebration of the Holy Communion in each of them."

Her will contained sundry interesting bequests to the poor: "to four score and ten widows (according to the number of the years she lived), to each one a gown and fair white kerchief, to attend the hearse wherein her body was carried, and one shilling apiece for their dinner"; "five pounds to be given to every place or town where her corpse should rest in its passage from London unto Stoneley"; "sixpence to be given to

every poor body that should meet her corpse on the road"; "for the redemption of Christian captives from the hands of the infidels one hundred pounds per annum for ever"; "for the placing out for ever of poor parish children of St. Giles' as apprentices, two hundred pounds to purchase a piece of land at ten pounds per annum, and two to be put out every year." Such good deeds naturally inspired the preacher to eloquent panegyric.

"*As*," he preached, "*St. Austin referred those who desired to profit in virtue to the life and conversation of Paulinus, saying*, Vade in Campaniam et disce Paulinum, (*Go to Campania, and study Paulinus,*) *so would I say to any person that should desire to attain to some degree of perfection in grace, goodness, and piety*, Vade ad Sancti Ægidii oppidum et disce Ducissam Dudleyam, (*Go to St. Giles's, and enquire after the life and manners of Duchess Dudley,*) *and conform your life to her religious conversation.*"

The parish allowed the Duchess a private entrance into the church and kept it in repair. It also paid £3 2s. for lining her pew with green baize and flooring it with matting.

As stated before, the Duchess Dudley had seven daughters. The eldest, Alicia Douglassia, died at the age of twenty-four. Her effigy, underneath that of her mother, in Stoneleigh Church, bears this inscription:—

"Here lyeth Alicia, who, dying before marriage on the 22nd of May, 1621, left to her mother afore-said,

or to the cause of charity, a handsome patrimony, to be at the disposal of her mother, and to be laid out in works of piety."

This gift (amounting to £3,000) was made by will nuncupatory, *i.e.* by word of mouth in the presence of witnesses. Where Alicia Douglassia got the money from no antiquary seems to have been able to discover; but, from whatever source it may have been derived, it was laid out in the augmentation of Church livings.

The second daughter, Frances, lies in effigy in her winding-sheet in the parish church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Originally of the ancient bedstead form, the monument was altered to its present form by the Hon. Charles Leigh in 1738. John Parton, in his history of the parish of St. Giles, speaks of it as "an extraordinary spacious monument mostly marble, adorned with cartouches, cornish, pediment, mantling, festoons, etc. Arms: ruby a chevron verry, on a canton pearl, a sinister hand of the first impaled with topas, a lion rampant diamond, three crescent topas, in chief, two birds rising diam." She married Sir Gilbert Kniveton, and died in 1663. History records nothing more about her.

The third daughter, Anne, married Sir Robert Holbourne, Charles I.'s Solicitor-General, who probably drew up the patent making his mother-in-law a Duchess. Dugdale invited her to compose a dedication for one of the engravings in his "Antiquities of Warwickshire," and she dedicated it as follows:—

"To her ancestors, very honourable by descent, but by far more so by their virtues, but most of all by the union of both, but specially to Richard Beauchamp, the excellent Earl of Warwick, at once an example of true nobility, family greatness, and his country's glory, the distinguished ornament of his age, for what he famously did at home and abroad, in peace and in war; to such a man, who to the very close of his life was a pattern of piety, fortitude, and magnanimity, and to his worth and memory, Anne Dudley, one of the co-heiresses of his noble family, dedicates this engraving of his tomb."

She died in 1663.

Catherine, the youngest daughter, alone survived her mother, and rivalled her mother in deeds of piety. She increased the benefices of the clergy; she endowed a school; she built almshouses for twenty poor widows—"each of them for their maintenance therein to have eight pounds per annum, and a gown of grey cloth, with these two letters, K and L, in blue cloth, fixed thereon." Whatever else in her history interests us is recorded on a tablet against the north wall of the Beauchamp Chapel in St. Mary's Church, which I transcribe:—

"To the memory of the Lady Katherine, (late wife of Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, Knight of the Bath,) one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Robert Dudley, Knt. (son to Robert, late Earl of Leicester,) by Alicia his wife, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stonley, Knt. and Bart., created Duchess Dudley by King Charles I.

in regard that her said husband, leaving this realme, had the title of Duke conferred upon him by Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, which Hon. Lady, taking notice of these tombes of her noble ancestors being much blemished by consuming time, but more by the rude hands of impious people, were in danger of utter ruin by the decay of this chapel, if not timely prevented, did in her lifetime give fifty pounds for its speedy repair; and by her last Will and Testament, bearing date XVIII° Dec. 1673, bequeath forty pounds *per annum*, issuing out of her manor of Foxley in the county of Northampton, for the perpetual support and preservation of these monuments in their proper state; the surplusage to be for the poor brethren of her grandfather's Hospitall in this borough; appointing William Dugdale, of Blythe Hall, in this county, Esq. (who represented to her the necessity of this good worke,) and his heirs, together with the Mayor of Warwick for the time being, to be her trustees therein."

Dudley's Italian family was much more extensive. Elizabeth Southwell bore him seven sons—Cosimo, Carlo, Ambrogio, Giovanni, Antonio, Ferdinando, and Enrico; and five daughters—Maria, Anna, Madalena, Teresa, and Maria Christina.

Cosimo was a young man of great promise, cut off in his prime. He was hardly more than a boy when the Grand Duke made him Colonel of the Guard. He died at Piombino, of malaria, at the age of twenty-one.

From a photograph by L. C. Keighley Peach.

INTERIOR OF THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

Carlo was a scapegrace. One of his scandalous exploits is set forth in the following letter from his father to Cioli:—

"I write to-day to beg your Excellency to inform His Serene Highness that Don Carlo with several men armed with guns entered my house, while I was at Mass, and carried away all the silver which was not locked up, to the value of 300 ducats. His Highness knows that I was aware of these evil designs and of others even worse. I hope some serious mark of displeasure from the Court will be shown for so grave a crime against his father, and defiance to the laws of his Prince. . . . He came, as far as I can gather, from Lucca, and has probably returned there with his booty. I place myself entirely in the hands of His Serene Highness," etc., etc.

A warrant was issued for his arrest, and he entrenched himself in a church in the middle of Florence. Ultimately he was caught and locked up until he promised to mend his behaviour—treatment which certainly did not err on the side of severity. Notwithstanding his misconduct, however, he made a grand marriage—with Marie Madeleine Gouffier, of the ancient house of Gouffier of Poitou; but he remained a *mauvais sujet* all the same. When he was seventy years of age, he made such a disturbance at a Court reception that it once more became necessary to lock him up, and it seems probable that he died in prison. He had several children. One Robert, Canon to the Cathedral of the Vatican, succeeded to

the title. One of his daughters, Christine, married the Marchese Paleotti, and had two children: a son, who was hanged at Tyburn for the murder of his valet; and a daughter, who married Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, and was one of the beauties at the Court of George I.

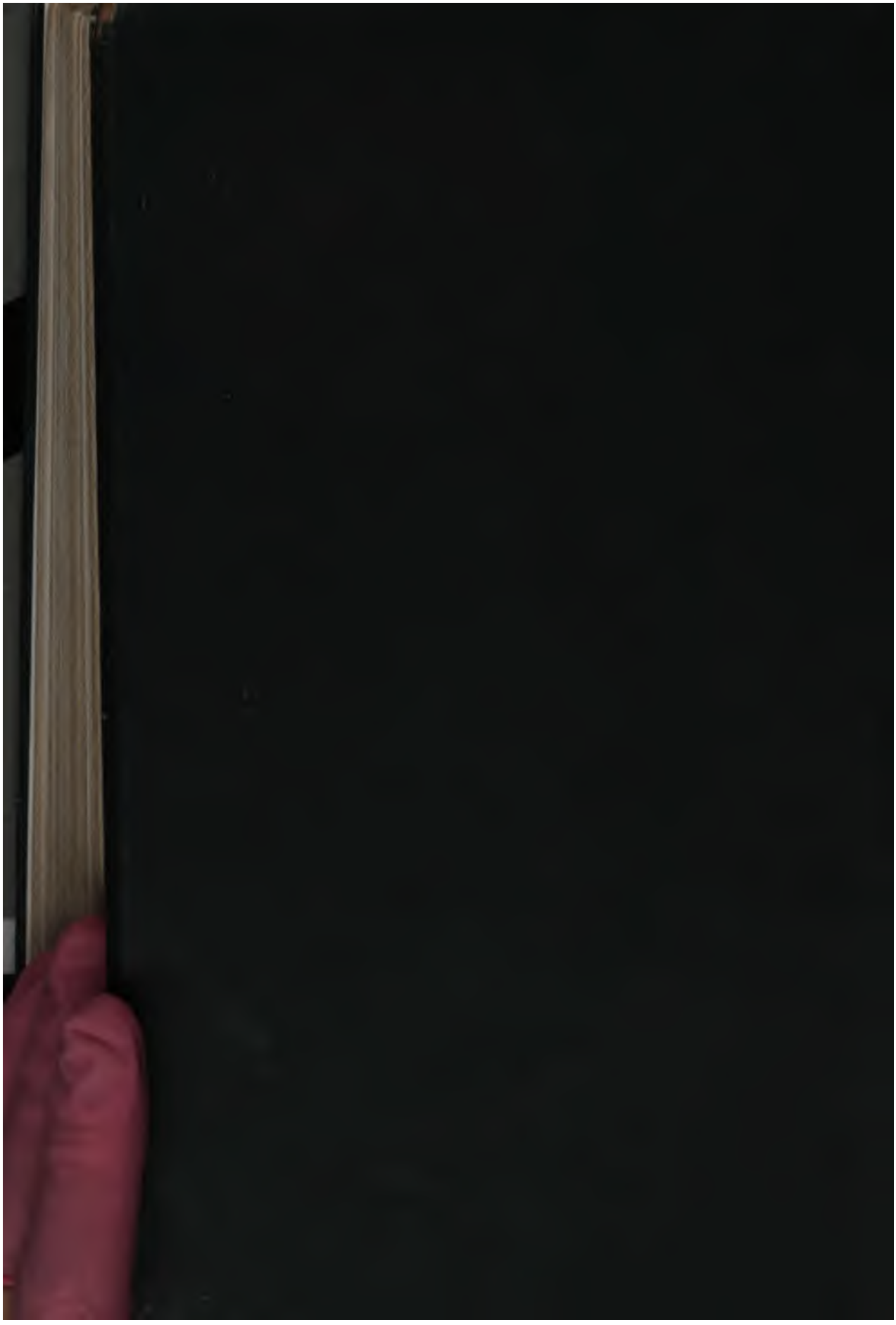
Ambrogio became page to the Grand Duchess. There was some talk of marrying him to "a daughter of the Rucellai close by"; but he died young, unmarried. The next brother, Giovanni, also died young; Antonio only just lived to reach man's estate; Ferdinando became a monk. Of Enrico we know very little, except that in 1652, all his brothers except Carlo, Duke of Northumberland, being dead, he took the title of Earl of Warwick.

We turn to the daughters.

Maria, in 1630, married Orazio Appiano, Prince of Piombino. Anna died unmarried in 1629, and was buried in San Pancrazio. Madalena married first Spinetta Malespina, and then Giambattista, son of Gianantonio Fieschi of the Counts of Lavagna—with which house the English family of Heneage is connected. Christina, Queen of Sweden, was present at her first marriage. Teresa first thought of taking the veil, but afterwards changed her mind and accepted an offer of marriage from the Duca della Cornia. Her husband died soon afterwards, and she then married Count Mario Carpegna, first Gentleman of the Chamber to the Cardinal Carlo di Medici, subsequently High Steward and Vice-Legate to Avignon. She died in

Rome on August 21st, 1698. Of the youngest sister, Maria Christina, there is no information.

And so we close our chronicle of the fortunes of the House of Dudley. It rose quickly from obscurity to splendour by methods that were considered reprehensible even in an age more tolerant than ours. The most conspicuous representatives of the house are rather to be called notorious than famous. Their ambition was overweening, and outran their talents. They had great talents for display, but only moderate talents for the conduct of affairs. They excelled as courtiers rather than as soldiers or as statesmen. In their private lives, too, they were unscrupulous—more particularly in their treatment of women. But they figured impressively on the stage, and realised the pageant of life better than any of their contemporaries.

END OF VOL. I.

Printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.